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No. 9, 3 September 1978

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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STUDYING HISTORY--TO THE TUNE OF 'HO HSIN LANG'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 1-3

[Poem by Mao Tse-tung, written in the spring of 1964]

[Text] It was only a short time, like several stones rolling by,  
Since men bade farewell to monkeys  
And mankind was still in its babyhood.  
How could men expect  
Flames were churning in hearths turning out copper and iron  
That only took several thousand years.  
A happy mood is seldom seen in the human world  
But oftentimes men go to battlefields with bows to fight each other  
With blood shed  
On the wilderness of land.  
After reading a chapter I find my hair turning gray  
And what I can remember are pieces of stories  
Along with some ancient events.  
The godly and holy stories about the five emperors and three kings  
Have only deceived the ordinary people traveling in the human world.  
How many men truly great and noble-hearted were there?  
Like Tao Chi and Chuang Chiao who became famous in history  
And like King Chen who rose to wield his royal ax.  
No sooner had I ended my singing  
Than the sun already rises from the east.

# SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION IN AGRICULTURE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 5-17

[Speech by Li Hsien-nien, 22 July 1978]

[Text] Comrades: This conference--another important conference held by the agricultural front since the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture--is being attended by party committee secretaries at the provincial, prefectural and county levels. In the process of studying, holding discussions and making various visits, everyone has paid attention to farmland capital construction and a number of issues on the entire agricultural front. Now let me discuss the agricultural issues.

All of you comrades know that, while carrying out the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, Chairman Hua announced to the entire country and world, through his government work report delivered at the Fifth National People's Congress, that we will definitely achieve the four modernizations within this century; he revealed the outline of the 10-year plan for developing China's national economy and announced the target of producing 800 billion catties of grain per year by 1985. Our tasks are extremely arduous. Since we have already mentioned it, we must try our best to achieve this goal. How can we advance our agriculture even more rapidly? This is an issue which most concerns comrades involved with the entire party and people all over the country. On this issue I would like to express the following:

I. Let me dwell on the issue of persisting in learning from Tachai.

Tachai is the Red banner personally fostered by Chairman Mao. It is our typical example in holding fast to the party's basic line, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. To push our agriculture forward, the most fundamental thing is to rely on our efforts to learn from Tachai, persistently follow the socialist orientation and place revolutionization in command of

modernization. This is the basic path for China's agriculture. At a time when we are marching toward agricultural modernization under today's new historical conditions, we must further deepen our understanding of the great significance in learning from Tachai and never lose the fundamental orientation in learning from Tachai. It would be a complete mistake if we show any sign of hesitating or wavering on this issue.

After the 1970 agricultural conference of the northern areas, particularly after the first and second national conferences on learning from Tachai in agriculture, personally presided over by Chairman Hua, the national movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has vigorously flourished and scored great achievements. Everyone knows: Our country is still very poor and technically backward; serious sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over many years, complicated by natural disasters, created unusual historical difficulties. Yet the broad masses of rural cadres and Communist Party members and hundreds of millions of peasants have shown unyielding determination and the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle. Mainly through manual labor, they have remade nature on a large scale and brought about an annual increase of 20 million mou of irrigated land in China, and agricultural production has risen greatly. Tachai is most outstanding in this respect, and that is the logic of Tachai's becoming the national model. Is modernization possible in a country like ours without such spirit and enthusiasm? Why were Hopei, Shantung and Honan provinces, often hit by natural disasters and short of grain, able to end the transportation of grain from south to north after working hard for several years? In the last 3 years Shantung has had about 500 million catties of grain available for other areas each year. The most important thing is its reliance on learning from Tachai. Why are Kiangsu and Hunan in the south able to raise production on a large scale and overfulfill the tasks for per-mou yields as stipulated in the "national program for agricultural development" for the provinces? The most important thing again is their reliance on learning from Tachai. Why did Chekiang and Szechwan, which suffered greatly from the serious sabotage of the "gang of four," make dramatic improvements within 1 year of the gang's downfall, with Chekiang again becoming a province which achieves the per-mou yield of 1,000 catties of grain and with Szechwan registering unprecedentedly high yields? Again, the most important thing is their reliance on learning from Tachai. Many high-yielding counties, communes and brigades throughout the country are Tachai-type typical examples or advanced units in learning from Tachai. The achievements of the Suchow Prefecture and Shantung's Chining and Taian prefectures, where everyone has visited, are the results of learning from the experience of Tachai in those areas. Practice is the criterion for verifying truth. All these practices have time and again verified the correctness of the Tachai experience. We must forever keep the Tachai spirit. This spirit should be kept alive from generation to generation, even when China's agriculture is highly mechanized and China becomes the biggest high-yield producer in the world in the future.

Now why do some of the comrades again have doubts on this issue, which has already been solved? Here is an important reason. Due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in recent years, a number of problems have cropped up in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture in some localities. For example, some of them have lowered the standards in building Tachai-type counties. Some submitted false reports on achievements and output figures. In some of the advanced units in learning from Tachai, individual bad elements sneaked into the leading bodies. Even some false "Tachai-type counties" created by the "gang of four" still exist. How do we tackle this issue? First of all, we must fully reaffirm that the majority of Tachai-type counties, communes and brigades and the advanced units in learning from Tachai are good. They have scored great achievements. This is the result of the strenuous efforts of the masses of cadres and people. The movement to learn from Tachai forges ahead in acute class struggle, not in a vacuum. It is not strange that a number of problems have cropped up. We must not forget our basic theory and practice, fail to see the essence and the general orientation of the movement, or vacillate in upholding the orientation of learning from Tachai. We will make a grave mistake if we do this. In dealing with the problems which crop up in the course of the movement, we must seek truth from facts, conduct concrete analysis and correctly handle the problems one after another. As for the false Tachai-type counties created by the "gang of four" to meet their counterrevolutionary political needs of usurping party and state leadership, we must strip them of their titles while boldly arousing the masses there to blast the lid off and go all out to genuinely learn from Tachai. In dealing with those units which had truly scored achievements in the movement to learn from Tachai and in which some factionalist backbone cadres of the "gang of four" sneaked into the leading bodies and carried out various sabotage activities, we must clear away the bad elements by penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." At the same time, we must firmly protect the cadres and masses there as well as their achievements. We must not uphold metaphysics while ignoring everything. In dealing with those units which have scored tremendous achievements in the movement to learn from Tachai, but where some of their cadres have also committed some mistakes, we must pay even greater attention to protecting the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres and people. For example, the Anhsiang County party committee in Hunan Province had exerted strenuous efforts in the past few years in learning from Tachai. It vigorously developed farmland capital construction, scored remarkable achievements and registered large increases in grain production. But, later it committed the error of submitting false reports on output figures and undermining the grain policy. Adopting the attitude of helping them with seriousness, earnestness and enthusiasm, the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee has done a good job in solving the problems there, helped the main responsible persons of the county CCP committee truly to realize their error and make an open self-examination to the masses, and restored the party's fine traditions. A new situation of unity in struggle has prevailed at all levels throughout the county. The measures adopted by the

Hunan Provincial CCP Committee is absolutely correct. Naturally, all advanced units, including Tachai and Hsiyang, must adopt the correct attitude of one dividing into two toward their own work, incessantly carry forward their achievements, and overcome their shortcomings to win still greater victories. In short, our aim is to bring into full play the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses in vigorously building socialism and to push the movement of building Tachai-type counties throughout the country to a new high level.

One profound experience we gained from the movement to learn from Tachai in the past years is that in learning from Tachai we must study the fundamentals. As Tachai did, we must adhere to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, to the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and the communist style of cherishing the country and the collective. As Tachai did, we must go all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism. As Tachai did, we must unceasingly strengthen the revolutionization of leading groups and persist in arming the minds of the peasants with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Hsiyang became the first Tachai-type county because it had grasped the fundamentals, persistently grasped the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously year after year, conscientiously carried out party consolidation and rectification, and reorganized the communes. All those localities throughout the country which have made conspicuous achievements in learning from Tachai have worked hard in these respects. If we do not study the fundamental experience of Tachai and apply mechanically certain specific methods of Tachai without keeping close contact with the actual local conditions, then the movement will develop in the wrong direction.

Throughout the historical periods of socialism, the principal contradictions in both urban and rural areas have been the struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. Only by following the footsteps of Tachai in grasping the principal contradictions and deepening the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment can the entire cause of revolution and construction be advanced victoriously. What we want is socialist modernization and not imperialist, revisionist and capitalist modernization. Therefore, we must resolutely grasp class struggle as the key link. To grasp class struggle at present and for some time to come is to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." A decisive and great victory has been won in this great political revolution in the past 2 years, but the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" should still not be underestimated. We must continue to advance from victory to victory and carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end.

Since last year many localities have boldly mobilized the masses to launch the "one criticism and two blows" struggle in a big way and guided the struggle along its course of development to strike at the restorationist

activities by the class enemies, deal a telling blow to embezzlers, thieves and speculators, and hit hard at wanton attacks by capitalist forces while deepening the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four." This has greatly heightened the spirit of the proletariat, crushed the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and won warm applause from the masses of cadres and people. Meanwhile, in the course of promoting the "one criticism and two blows" struggle, good results have been achieved in carrying out party consolidation and rectification, straightening out communes, conducting education in the party's basic line, straightening out leading groups at all levels, improving management of communes and production brigades, implementing the party's policies and restoring and carrying forward the party's fine traditions and style of work. This has further aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and pushed forward the development of collective economy of the people's communes. Proceeding from the actual local conditions, the party committees at all levels should continue to strengthen their leadership over this movement and deepen this movement stage by stage and area by area so as to strive for new victories in class struggle.

Here it is necessary to energetically elaborate the issue of implementing the various party policies and improving the cadres' workstyle. In the early stages, all localities did a great deal of work in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and achieved very good results in this respect. We must continue to grasp this work firmly so as to achieve still better results in the future. The party Central Committee has recently circulated two very important documents: the "Report on Earnestly Implementing the Party's Policies and Striving To Lessen the Irrational Burdens on the Peasants" submitted by the Hsianghsiang County party committee in Hunan Province and the "Investigation Report on Coercion and Commandism and Violation of Law and Discipline by Some Cadres in Hsuni County" submitted by the Shensi provincial party committee. The first document deals mainly with the issue of implementing the party policies, while the second deals with the cadres' workstyle. In the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the party committees at all levels must keep in close contact with actual local conditions and vigorously publicize the two documents so as to make them known to every household and individual. It is necessary to conscientiously implement every single article of the party Central Committee's instructions. Under no circumstances should we be sloppy, carry out the movement in name only and make empty talk without doing anything at all. What we want is actual results.

The implementation of the party policies still hinges on our efforts to penetratingly expose and criticize the ultraright line of the "gang of four," criticize their fake-left and real-right essence, distinguish right from wrong and correct all the policies turned upside down by the "gang of four." The historical experiences merit our attention. We should not repeat the mistakes of practicing "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition" and stirring up the "tendency of effecting

the transition to communism prematurely." At the same time, we must also guard against the mistakes of "fixing output quotas based on the household" and "practicing individual farming." Under the prerequisite of upholding the big collective [ta chi ti, 1129 7162 7555], we should allow personal freedoms and should not interfere with commune members in farming small plots for personal needs and engaging in household sideline production. We should strengthen management of trade at village fairs and should not abolish the village fairs at will. By clearly understanding this distinction, we will not make serious mistakes in our work. Our basic aim in implementing the party policies is to protect and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and lead the peasants to take the socialist road. There are now two most important things we must do: One is to genuinely implement the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" so we can insure greater pay for more work and oppose egalitarianism; the other is to adopt all possible means to lessen the irrational burdens on the peasants; resolutely rectify the situation in which "all trades and professions seek help from the production teams, thus weakening their foundation," and insure that the peasants' income will increase with the rise in production and that distribution will be made as promised. When these two tasks are firmly grasped, men and women, young and old, will be pleased, and the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants will be aroused.

Our party has long possessed a fine Marxist-Leninist tradition and workstyle. The relations between cadres and the masses have always been as close as those between fish and water. Due to the sabotage and corrosive activity by the "gang of four" in the past few years, some cadres have abandoned this precious heritage; they were imbued with the bad workstyle of bureaucraticism and commandism and even went so far as to violate law and discipline, seriously divorced themselves from the masses and dampened their enthusiasm. To penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," eliminate chaos and restore order, it is necessary that our cadres drastically change their workstyle and restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition. Our cadres at all levels, particularly the leading cadres, must be able to unite with other comrades, establish close ties with the masses, be concerned with the livelihood of the masses and pay attention to the methods of work. Strenuous efforts should be made to further carry forward the revolutionary spirit plus all-out efforts, eliminate bureaucratic, apathetic, arrogant and finicky atmospheres and break away from the world outlook of a coward and sluggard. It is necessary to work hard and adhere to the principle of running all undertakings industriously and with thrift. It is also necessary to simplify the organs, overcome the "five excesses" and effectively improve the workstyle of government offices.

At present we are particularly emphasizing the need to seek truth from facts, avoid empty talk, be modest and prudent, quietly work hard and do our work in a down-to-earth way on the agricultural front and other fronts. We must persistently place practice in the primary position and

do our work according to the actual situation at all times. We must not exaggerate, give arbitrary directions or practice formalism. The bad style of bragging, empty talk, disregarding practical results, reporting only good news but not the bad, or even stooping to deception is ostentatious and harmful. We must resolutely oppose it. The masses of cadres, particularly the leading cadres at various levels, should persistently take part in collective productive labor, go to the grassroots level and conduct study and investigation among the masses. We should seriously sum up our own experience, modestly learn all good experience at home and abroad and oppose arrogance, complacency and conservatism. The more we achieve, the more we should also realize our shortcomings. Only in this way can we succeed in our undertakings and advance in a still better way.

We certainly can fully arouse the inexhaustible socialist initiative among the masses and give full scope to the people's communes' matchless advantage of being bigger in scale and having a more developed socialist nature than the former agricultural cooperatives. All we have to do is firmly grasp the key link--the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four"--distinguish between correct and erroneous lines in the course of struggle, seriously consolidate the leading groups at all levels, implement the party's policies and rectify the cadres' workstyle. In this way, the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country will advance in a more down-to-earth way, and we will have a more reliable guarantee for fast agricultural development and for the realization of agricultural mechanization.

II. The question of how to better implement the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation.

In "Das Kapital," Marx had a famous phrase: "Agricultural labor productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the laborer is the basis of all societies." In other words, in any society, industrial, economic, cultural and other developments are ultimately decided by how much grain, raw materials and productive forces and how big a market agriculture can supply. Chairman Mao applied the basic principles of Marxism, summed up domestic and international experiences and proposed that we implement the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and arrange the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in the course of socialist construction in China. He repeatedly admonished us that agriculture influences the nation's economy, the people's livelihood and the consolidation of political power; that if agriculture is ignored there will be widespread disorder some day; that we should never forget that "food is the first necessity of the people, and feeding the population is of prime importance." Only when the people are well fed can they engage in construction, develop science and technology and create splendid culture. Under the new historical conditions of marching toward the four modernizations, we must do even better in implementing the principles of taking agriculture as the foundation, further concentrate and mobilize the strength of the whole party and

country and make every effort to step up agriculture and lay a firm foundation for agriculture materially, technically, financially and economically. We must strengthen the organization, leadership and qualified work force for agriculture. Otherwise, we will fail in the great undertaking of the four modernizations, and we will then be punished by history. Our comrades of the entire party should fully understand this fundamental question of strategic significance and solve it seriously and well.

In the 28 years since liberation we have successfully accomplished the socialist reform of ownership in agriculture, developed production in the rural areas, increased the nation's grain output by 1.5 times and succeeded in feeding over one-fifth of the world's total population with only 7 percent of the world's total arable land. This is a tremendous achievement. Because of this success, we have been able to gradually build China--a poor, backward, semicolonial and semifeudal country--into a socialist new China with initial prosperity. While organizing the 700 million peasants in the people's communes and the several million staff members and workers of the state-operated agricultural enterprises to work hard by defying all sorts of adversities, the vast number of rural cadres and communist members have made enormous contributions and rendered tremendous services to the state. But we must also realize that, because of the long and serious interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four," our country's agriculture has fallen far short of the expected goal. Our country's farming still relies heavily on manual labor, our agricultural productivity is very low, and very little is saved in the rural areas. China is a big country of 800 million people; yet 700 million of them are peasants who have to work hard in order to feed the whole nation. If this situation does not improve, we cannot increase our industry or boost our national economy. Even if we succeed in increasing them temporarily, they will eventually fall back. Once a major natural disaster occurs or a war breaks out, we will find ourselves in an even more unenviable position. We must make the strongest decision and exert the greatest efforts to boost our agricultural production.

Have our comrades of the entire party, particularly the leading comrades, made that decision both ideologically and in practice? In my view, we cannot say that yet. At least a considerable number of our comrades have failed to consciously implement the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation. Some comrades have even fallen into a state of confusion. This is evidenced by the fact that in many localities and departments a lack of support for agriculture or even subversive activities against agricultural development prevail. We must make every effort to bring those confused comrades back to their senses. The sooner we do that, the better.

China is a big country with a large population and a backward economy. To boost our agricultural production we must mobilize the 700 million

peasants to rely on their own efforts and carry out arduous struggle. By mobilizing the peasants we made great progress in the past. To promote farm mechanization both now and in the future we must still rely on the peasants' initiative. Under this premise, the state will, according to the need and whenever possible, provide greater support to agriculture.

1. It is necessary to increase investments in agriculture. Complying with Chairman Mao's consistent policy of formulating the national economy development plan in the order of developing agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and based on Chairman Hua's instruction on giving greater support to agriculture, at the Fifth National People's Congress held this year we gave agriculture a larger share of the total investment in the national economy. At present, because of the rapid recovery of the national economy and increased revenues, we are contemplating accelerating agricultural development and further increasing appropriations for agricultural investments. The central authorities will increase agricultural investments in the state-operated agricultural enterprises, and the local authorities will also increase their agricultural investments. In the allotment of agricultural investments it is necessary to consider the remote mountainous areas--particularly national minority areas--and help them to transform their backward outlook as soon as possible. In Kiangsu, 70 percent of the province's local revenues and 80-90 percent of the prefectural and county revenues are spent on agriculture. The other provinces and autonomous regions must follow Kiangsu's example. Some localities, instead of following Kiangsu's example, have vigorously engaged in erecting tall and spacious buildings, indulging in wasteful extravagance, holding banquets or giving away presents and have spent the people's money like water. All of these are criminal acts.

2. Increase credit loans to agriculture. Another important method of increasing funds for agricultural development is making effective credit loans to agriculture. To realize farm mechanization, promote scientific farming, develop a diversified economy, build commune- and brigade-run enterprises and engage in farmland capital construction, the people's communes, in addition to relying on their own accumulated funds, must rely on credit loans. We are contemplating reviving the agricultural bank, because it can better absorb and spend rural savings on agricultural construction. Interest rates for rural savings must be properly raised, while those for agricultural loans must be properly reduced. The state must plan and sponsor special long-term loans with low or insignificant interest rates to better facilitate the development and growth of the collective economy of the people's commune.

3. Make proper readjustments to the rate of exchange between industrial and farm products. Since liberation the price differential between manufactured and farm products has been gradually narrowing. However, current prices for the procurement of farm products are still too low, while prices for industrial products in support of agriculture are too high.

This is a major reason for the high production costs, low collective savings and low distribution rates to commune members in many communes and production brigades. We must work out plans for making proper readjustments to the rates of exchange between manufactured and farm products, properly raise the procurement prices for farm and sideline products and reduce the price of industrial products, particularly products which support agriculture, by reducing their production costs, thus consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. This has been a long-standing policy of the central authorities. Concrete measures for making readjustments are being worked out by thorough investigation and study and will be submitted to the central authorities for approval and implementation.

4. Make every effort to improve the quality of both industrial and farm products. At present the quality of many kinds of products which support agriculture is poor. The peasants have complained loudly about this. This situation must be rapidly improved. Staff members and workers in industrial departments from the central organs down to the various localities and in the various factories and enterprises must pay close attention to product quality and be responsible for their own products. Substandard products must never be allowed to leave the plant. The manufacturers must guarantee the repair, exchange or refund of all products that have already left their plants. In serious cases, the manufacturer must make monetary compensation for losses suffered by the communes or brigades. The above are obligations of the industrial departments to agriculture and can also serve as an impetus for the industrial departments to improve and develop their production.

5. Vigorously assist the communes and brigades to develop their own enterprises. This assistance is important in strengthening the commune's collective economy, gradually narrowing the gaps between the three differences and promoting national industrialization and commune industrialization. The people's communes lay great hopes for their brilliant future on the development of the commune- and brigade-run enterprises. Therefore, we require that commune- and brigade-run enterprises in localities with rich natural resources pay more attention to the production of raw and other materials and to mining. In principle, the processing--particularly rough processing--of farm and sideline products should be handled by the commune- and brigade-run enterprises. This should be done step by step in a planned way. Where conditions are suitable, urban industrial plants should delegate the production of certain products or parts to the rural commune- or brigade-run enterprises, thereby integrating the cities with the countryside and industry with agriculture. At first the quality of products turned out by the commune- and brigade-run enterprises may be poor, but this should not be used as an excuse for refusing to support the development of rural enterprises. Urban plants must actively help the commune- and brigade-run enterprises to improve their equipment, train talent and raise their technical levels. The state has a tax-free or low-tax policy toward commune- or brigade-run

enterprises and prices their products on a par with those turned out by state industrial enterprises. Both the central and local authorities should strengthen their leadership over commune- and brigade-run enterprises, support them with necessary funds and raw materials, include the production, supply and marketing of such enterprises in the unified plans and help them improve their management and production.

6. Continue the policy of a fixed annual norm for the state purchase of market grain for a 5-year period. In accordance with the principle of taking account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, we have persistently enforced this policy in the past; this has played a tremendous role in promoting agricultural production and insuring supplies for cities and the countryside. We should continue to implement this policy. The state will properly raise the price for grain sold to the state above the norm in order to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm in this regard and to insure that the peasants' income increases as output grows. The portion above the production plan can be kept as reserves or sold to the state, depending on concrete circumstances, and commune members should be given more food grain. To forcibly purchase grain from the peasants above the norm must not be permitted.

Whether the above measures can be conscientiously implemented, whether the increased state investment in agriculture can be properly used and whether the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation can be successfully implemented depend on central departments and the party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. I hope that such comprehensive departments as the State Planning, Economic Capital Construction and Science and Technology commissions, the Ministry of Finance and the People's Bank, as well as the agriculture and forestry, water conservancy, light and heavy industry, communications and transportation, commerce, supply and marketing, labor, materials, commodity prices, science and technology, culture and education and public health departments and the party committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will check the following in accordance with the instruction of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee on strengthening agriculture: Whether the practical work of your departments or areas and the specific principles, policies, methods, rules and regulations you have laid down for all trades promote or obstruct the development of agriculture and whether they are beneficial to the peasants or place additional unreasonable burdens on them. It is necessary to boldly mobilize the masses to expose all contradictions and to seriously study and analyze such contradictions in order to work out effective measures for grasping and supporting agriculture well.

At the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng called on all departments of the party Central Committee and the central government to make plans to contribute to building Tachai-type counties throughout the country, to check and sum up the implementation of their plans once a year and to report their results to

the central authorities. Do you still remember this instruction? Have you acted on it? How about the results? Those who have done well in this regard should be commended, and those who have not done well should promptly mend their ways. Those who failed to do well in the past due to the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" can be excused. Nearly 2 years have elapsed since the smashing of the "gang of four." Now it is absolutely impermissible for anyone to take a frivolous attitude toward the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee.

The central authorities long ago explicitly pointed out that predominantly agricultural provinces must make an effort to develop agriculture and predominantly industrial provinces must make still greater efforts to this end. The main task of party committees at the prefectural and county levels is to develop agriculture. In examining the work of the party committee and its principal leaders in a province, a prefecture or a county, it is necessary to first check on how they have done in agriculture. This is a major indication of their work. In your area, if the movement to learn from Tachai is not carried out well, if no changes have been made in mountains and rivers and if agricultural production has failed to increase for a long time, you have failed to carry out the tasks assigned to you by the party, and you have failed to live up to the trust and expectations of the masses. Practical experience has repeatedly proved that when agriculture is pushed forward all other tasks can be carried out smoothly. On the other hand, if agriculture is not developed, the people cannot be fed well. In that case, all other tasks definitely cannot be carried out well. The tasks of the comrades who are engaged in agriculture are arduous yet glorious. Comrades who have made remarkable achievements in agriculture should be commended and rewarded by the party and the people.

I hope that comrades of the party committees of all central departments, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as the more than 200 prefectures and over 2,000 counties throughout the country, will fully recognize the question of agriculture as a major matter concerning the entire situation, always keep the 700 million peasants in mind, mobilize and organize all trades and professions to serve agriculture better and resolutely push agriculture forward.

### III. On the question of agricultural mechanization and scientific farming.

Our party's basic line on the question of agriculture is to realize agricultural mechanization and electrification on the basis of agricultural collectivization. The alliance of the working class with the peasants in our country was based first on land reform and then on agricultural collectivization. Now we have entered a new period in which we should arm agriculture with modern industry and modern science and technology and make all-round technical innovations and technical transformations in agriculture. Only by achieving this purpose can we further consolidate

the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by so doing can we lay an ever more solid material foundation for our socialist system.

One important thing to do in accelerating the development of agricultural mechanization is to build a system of industries supporting agriculture in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. In accordance with the principle of specialization and coordination, it is necessary to step up the effort to reorganize the farm machinery industry to insure standardization and a full range of multipurpose equipment. Efforts should be made to improve the quality of products and to increase output.

Farm machinery factories have failed to coordinate with one another in production. As a result, the models of their products are not standardized, the variety and specifications of their products are not identical, and parts are not interchangeable. This way of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" [pai hua chi feng, 4102 5363 7871 2397] must not continue, nor must it be tolerated any longer. If no efforts are made to change this situation, it amounts to obstructing agricultural development instead of supporting it. The people will curse this situation, and they are actually doing so. In my opinion, it is right for them to curse this situation. On this question, we support the First Ministry of Machine Building in acting like "Chin Shih Huang." As to how to reorganize the farm machinery industry, however, the First Ministry of Machine Building should make thorough investigations and study, consult with the departments and localities concerned and put forward a practical plan as soon as possible. If you fail to do so, you will be investigated and held responsible. If the plan is already made, it should not exist on paper only but be implemented immediately. Where there are problems, they must be solved. Even Chin Shih Huang recognized the need to "standardize the cartwheel gauge and the written Chinese language and unify weights and measures." Cannot we communists understand the necessity of such minimum unification and standardization? To accelerate the development of agricultural mechanization, we should better implement the principle of walking on two legs and develop large, medium and small-scale industrial enterprises supporting agriculture at the same time. Attention should now be paid to increasing the number of medium and large tractors, since there is already a fairly large number of small tractors. To insure the realization of agricultural mechanization, it should be explicitly stipulated that certain amounts of rolled steel and funds are to be used for the manufacturing and maintenance of farm machinery. It is necessary to continue running well the existing small chemical fertilizer plants in various parts of the country, to tap potentials, to make technical innovations and to bring about the technical transformation of such plants in order to enable them to improve the quality of their products and reduce their production costs. At the same time, the state should continue to build large chemical fertilizer plants to provide every province with one such plant by 1985. Efforts should be made to tap various

sources of fertilizer and to collect farm manure. Chemical fertilizer should be mixed with organic fertilizer, and the production of organic fertilizer should be combined with that of marsh gas. In addition to the farm machinery stations set up by communes and brigades through their own efforts, the state should set up a number of such stations in a planned way. The farm machinery stations to be set up by the state will increase state support for the poor communes and brigades and play an exemplary role in this regard.

As early as last year we proposed that every province throughout the country concentrate its efforts on setting up one fully mechanized county. The rural areas in several big cities must become pioneers to gain some experience. To make sure that this important measure is implemented, we have further proposed that the provinces with a strong industrial foundation accomplish this task within a period of 2 to 3 years, while the provinces with a comparatively weaker industrial foundation must do so within a period of 3 to 5 years. As for those counties set up for full mechanization, the central departments, particularly industrial departments, must vigorously support them. Senior leaders at the provincial and prefectural level should take personal charge of the work. The experience of the above-mentioned counties should answer a whole range of questions: What types of machines should be chosen, how should the farming system be reformed, what crop pattern should be adopted, how should farming be made more scientific, and what steps should be taken to train personnel and improve management? All this will put us in a better position to direct farm mechanization, and hundreds of millions of peasants will have examples to follow on their road of advance.

While we quicken the tempo in the development of farm mechanization, we must exert strenuous efforts to carry out mass agricultural scientific experiments, implement the "eight-point charter for agriculture," and raise the level of farming with a scientific approach. Here I would like to emphasize one point--that all localities must proceed from reality, take the local situation into consideration and clearly understand their major targets. For the tasks they set out to accomplish, they must start early, take quick action and pay attention to efficiency. They must not delay in making decisions on proposals. Nor must they decline to take action on decisions made and procrastinate. For example, when full attention is paid to the cultivation of seeds, grain production will greatly rise, and over 10 billion catties of seeds can be saved in a year throughout the country. Agricultural and forestry departments at all levels must pay attention to this task, and the various departments concerned must give full support to this task and adopt effective measures to fulfill it throughout the country.

While developing farm mechanization and making farming scientific, we must of course learn from the good experience of other countries and their advanced technology. But we must not copy mechanically. While our country has a big population, farmland averages less than 1.9 mou

per capita; only intensive farming aimed at constantly raising per-unit output can solve China's agricultural problems. Our country is vast, with mountainous as well as plain areas; there are highlands as well as lowlands; there are drylands as well as irrigated fields. Climatic and soil conditions in various localities also differ greatly. We must take these basic characteristics into serious consideration, concentrate our efforts on greatly raising per-unit yields, and strive to turn China into a first-class, high-yield nation.

When we march toward agricultural modernization, we must pay full attention to conscientiously and incessantly summing up our own experience. We have experience in success as well as in failure. We must sum up our experience in both. The comrades from various provinces in the south attending this conference have visited Soochow Prefecture. The average per-unit yield of grain there has reached more than 1,400 catties on over 5 million mou of grainfields throughout the prefecture, with over 200,000 mou producing 1 ton of grain per mou. This is a very high level, even by world standards. The prefecture has launched a mass movement to build farmland with a yield of 1 ton of grain per mou, maintained close touch with reality, fully applied the "eight-point charter for agriculture," emphatically put forward specific scientific demands that are suited to the local situation, and made scientific farming the actual practice of the masses engaged in production. Its experience in this regard is indeed fine. Other provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country also have some good experiences. We not only have a large number of high-yield communes and production brigades but also have many high-yield counties. We must do a good job in summing up the experiences of these high-yield areas and conscientiously popularize such experiences so that they will blossom and yield fruit throughout the country.

I would also like to vigorously elaborate upon the issue of improving agricultural management by cadres at all levels and raising the scientific and cultural levels of the masses of peasants. With the rapid development of agricultural mechanization, a higher level of scientific farming and all-round developments in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and the commune- and brigade-run industries, this issue has become even more urgent and important. If our cadres do not skillfully manage farm machinery stations, experimental networks in scientific farming and specialized teams for farmland capital construction, if they have no knowledge of pedology and cultivation and don't know how to consolidate their management in organizing different kinds of modern production, and if our commune members do not have substantial scientific and cultural levels or knowledge about the use of electricity, machinery, chemical fertilizers and insecticides, then the needs of agricultural modernization will not be met. We should not only train and cultivate a large number of scientific and technical personnel in agriculture who are both Red and expert and cadres in economic work who skillfully manage large, modern and socialist agriculture, but also

extensively raise scientific and cultural levels among the masses of peasants; this must be done so we can help them become skillful agricultural laborers with socialist consciousness and with the capability of mastering modern production techniques. Farm machinery operators in particular should not be allowed to operate farm machinery unless they are specially trained and have passed the qualification test. It is necessary to strengthen research work in agricultural scientific research centers and the study of basic agricultural theories. It is necessary to restore and develop the agricultural colleges and institutes without delay and to widely establish specialized agricultural middle schools. In general, the rural middle schools should also establish agricultural courses. Teaching of agricultural science and technology should be included in primary school education so as to help young people cherish agriculture and science during their youth. All kinds of evening schools and training classes for the peasants should be established in the rural areas to further promote knowledge of agricultural science and technology among the peasants. We have frequently pointed out that, by comparison, achieving agricultural modernization is harder than achieving industrial modernization, and producing 800 billion catties of grain is even harder than producing 60 million tons of steel. I hope that comrades on the agricultural front and other fronts will fully understand this particular point, realize its importance without delay and arouse even more enthusiasm to "study, study and study once again." With this spirit we learned how to carry out land reform and collectivization. So today we should also be able to learn how to achieve modernization. This is beyond any doubt. We must and can shoulder this glorious task entrusted to us by history.

#### IV. On the issue of combining agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.

The rapid development of agricultural mechanization and the raising of scientific and cultural levels will open up broad vistas for the rapid development of the three-in-one combination of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. Chairman Mao pointed out that "in my opinion, agriculture and forestry are the forefathers of developing animal husbandry, and animal husbandry is the son of agriculture and forestry. Meanwhile, animal husbandry is also the forefather of agriculture and forestry (mainly agriculture); agriculture and forestry then become the sons." This shows why a balanced, mutual reliance among these three things is necessary. All of these things--agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry--are indispensable and must be placed on an equal footing. Due to lack of understanding of this particular point in the past, many comrades considerably neglected the development of forestry and animal husbandry. If they still do not realize their mistake and do not include these tasks on the important daily agendas of party committees at all levels, then not only will the barren hills not be transformed and the grasslands not be utilized, but existing forests will continue to be damaged and the grasslands will continue to degenerate. As a result,

our country's natural environment will be gravely damaged for generations to come.

Although we have many acres of barren hills and land in our country which are suitable for afforestation, the afforested area is rather small. We must understand that only by carrying out large-scale afforestation will it be possible to preserve water sources, conserve water and soil, protect crops from wind and sand damage, regulate the weather and increase rainfall. This is of great significance in insuring and promoting high and stable yields in agriculture. Due to the sabotage and interference of the "gang of four," in addition to the poor job we did over the past few years, vast afforested areas were burned down in some localities, thus seriously damaging our forestry resources. This is very distressing. We must conscientiously sum up the experiences we have accumulated over the past 28 years, formulate and promulgate forestry laws and do a good job in managing and protecting existing forests. We must resolutely deal telling blows to the handful of bad elements who destroy forests, prohibit indiscriminate logging and correct the erroneous practices of attaching importance to logging and neglecting afforestation and forestry management. Logging and afforestation should be greater than the logging results. In accordance with the principle of adapting to local conditions, greater efforts should be made to plant utilizable forests, economic forests, protective forests and other forests for special purposes; to build networks of trees around farmland, and to grow trees around every house and village and by roadsides and watersides. It is necessary to promote a mass afforestation movement and to firmly grasp this movement for 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, 5 years, 10 years or 20 years, so as to achieve the great task of planting trees throughout the motherland for the benefit of future generations.

There are over 3 billion mou of utilizable grasslands in our country, including such world-famous grasslands as Hu-lun-pei-erh, Hsi-lin-kuo-lo and Kung-nai-ssu. This figure does not include the grasslands suitable for animal husbandry in many hilly areas in the south. However, the output value of our country's animal husbandry amounts to only 13.9 percent of the agricultural output value. In going all-out to raise pigs, we must simultaneously go all-out to raise cattle and sheep. Pigs feed mainly on grain, while cattle and sheep feed on grass. We must fully utilize all grasslands that can be utilized, speed up grassland construction and increase grassland acreage so as to provide more fodder for livestock. In some southern provinces, 70 percent of the territory is hilly areas, 20 percent is water and only 10 percent is farmland. With due consideration for local conditions, all these provinces are suitable for developing animal husbandry if they fully utilize hilly areas to raise cattle and sheep. We must also raise rabbits, chickens, ducks and geese and develop other domestic fowl and animals. In our agricultural investments it is necessary to increase the proportion of investment in animal husbandry, include animal husbandry development in state plans and establish a certain number of modern livestock-breeding

farms. In this respect we must not only try hard to adopt advanced mechanized equipment, science and technology, but also make do with what is available, conserve funds, avoid lavishness and seek actual results in developing farms.

While grasping forestry and animal husbandry well, we must also fully utilize bodies of water in coastal areas and inland rivers to actively develop fishery and other aquatic production and open up fishing grounds in distant seas. It is necessary to improve our techniques, speed up mechanization in catching, raising, processing, storing and shipping aquatic products, expand intensive-breeding and high-yield fishery farms, and industrialize our fish-breeding industry in areas where conditions are suitable. Water pollution has now become a very serious problem which obstructs the development of aquatic production. All departments and localities concerned must immediately take resolute measures to effectively protect resources of aquatic production. Meanwhile, all harmful fishing gear and methods should be strictly prohibited. Regulations forbidding fishing in certain areas and at certain times should be strictly enforced. Some localities have long been known as districts where fish and rice are abundant. Now fish is not so available. Leading personnel in these localities must thoroughly consider and conscientiously review the situation: Under their leadership, why are there no fish in the water, why is fish output very low and why can't large numbers of fish be caught?

In short, considering the country as a whole, our policy is: Take grain production as the key link, insure all-round development, apply measures suitable to local conditions and concentrate all efforts properly. With regard to different localities, forestry zones should take forestry as their main task, pastoral areas should take animal husbandry as their main task, fishing zones should take fishery as their main task and industrial crop-growing areas should take production of industrial crops as their main task. With regard to industrial crops like food crops, cotton, oil-bearing crops and sugar-bearing crops, we must also grow them according to local conditions and concentrate all efforts properly. On this question we must also advocate dialectics and oppose metaphysics. In this way our agricultural structure as a whole will become more rational, and the speed of agricultural development will be greatly increased.

#### V. On the issue of farmland capital construction.

To go in for farmland capital construction is an important part of learning from Tachai in agriculture and a fundamental step in achieving modernization of agriculture. In the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, we must further mobilize the 700 million peasants of the country to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of "transforming China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains," persistently "undertake

farmland capital construction as a great socialist task" and basically transform the conditions of agricultural production in our country. I hope that all the comrades attending this conference will further increase their understanding of this task which affects the overall interests of the country, that is, by accelerating agricultural development and striving for agricultural modernization, fostering lofty ideals, setting high goals and arousing still higher revolutionary enthusiasm. I believe that after this conference we certainly can bring about a new upsurge in farmland capital construction throughout the country.

In putting particular stress on the importance of going in for farmland capital construction, we proceed from the natural conditions of agriculture in our country and base ourselves on the practical experience we have gained in learning from Tachai in agriculture over the past many years. Our country, in the south as well as in the north, is constantly threatened either by drought or by waterlogging. The affected area each year often reaches several hundred million mou, and agricultural production is unstable. To change this situation, we must conscientiously learn from Tachai, Hsiyang, Soochow and Shantung, go in for farmland capital construction, and increase our ability to resist natural disasters. These localities have been able to increase agricultural production by large margins. One important factor is that they have fully mobilized the masses and have carried out farmland capital construction in a big way, centering on improving the soil and building water conservancy projects and tackling mountains, rivers, farmland, forests and roads in a comprehensive way. As a result, they have greatly improved production conditions. If every day we just talk about learning from Tachai but turn a blind eye to the lack of progress in transforming the local mountains and rivers and pay no attention to the masses' call for changing production conditions, then learning from Tachai is nothing but empty talk. We think this is shameful. We must go in for farmland capital construction in a big way, persistently and unswervingly. In doing so we must not waver. From now on the state will continue to build a number of large and medium-sized key water conservancy projects, paying attention to the harnessing of the major rivers, including the Yellow, Yangtze, Huai, Hai, Liao, Sunghua and Pearl rivers, and building projects to move water from the south to the north. In the meantime, more small and medium-sized water conservancy projects will be constructed, using small projects as the basis and linking large, medium-sized and small projects. It is necessary to rely on the masses, carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and carry on large-scale farmland capital construction that will involve the masses in a more extensive and sustained way.

The goal of farmland capital construction is to build farmland that gives high and stable yields irrespective of drought and waterlogging. On the basis of the actual conditions at present and as far as the whole country is concerned, our main effort should be concentrated first of all

on improving the existing projects and farmland. If this is done, the irrigated area of farmland in the whole country will be expanded by more than 100 million mou. Therefore, we must vigorously install auxiliary equipment for the existing projects, level the land, strengthen management and popularize sprinkler irrigation and other new irrigation methods so as to enhance scientific farming and raise the unit area output. In areas where per-mou grain output has already reached the target set by the national program for agricultural development, efforts should be made to increase grain output so as to double the target set by the national program for agricultural development, or to 1 ton per mou. In the meantime, where conditions permit and while avoiding damage to water and soil conservation, forests, grasslands and aquatic production resources, it is necessary to reclaim wasteland actively and in a well-planned manner. We should reclaim land from the sea and from rivers and create more farmland. In developing new farmland in mountainous and hilly areas, it is essential to build terraced flat fields once and for all, to prevent the development of "three-losing fields" where the fields are losing water, topsoil and fertilizer continually. In harnessing rivers and developing farmland, it is necessary to provide outlets and insure safety against floods. The state will concentrate the necessary manpower and material and financial resources to carry out relatively large-scale land reclamation in the northeast and northwest. The communes and brigades also should create more farmland in a way suited to local conditions.

Here I want to ask you a question. From now on in farmland capital construction, is it possible to use half the manpower we used in the past to do an equal amount of work, or even more work, and do it better? I think that if we work toward this objective we will be able to achieve it. In the past we always counted how many people worked in the fields. Beginning this year, we will no longer count the number of people. From now on we shall commend situations where fewer people are used, the work efficiency is high and the quality of work is good, and we shall criticize situations where more people are used, the work efficiency is low and the quality of work is poor. Wasting the labor force is the greatest waste. We must seriously organize well the more than 300 million working people in the rural areas. Based on the needs of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries and of the commune- and brigade-run enterprises, we should make overall planning and proper arrangements and bring into full play the latent potentials of the labor force. To achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in farmland capital construction, we must first of all do a good job in planning. All the provinces, prefectures, counties and communes must proceed from the actual local conditions, rely on the combined efforts of the cadres, technical personnel and peasants, completely follow the mass line, conduct in-depth investigations and studies, and do a good job in planning. The plans should contain lofty ideals and set high goals. At the same time, they must be suited to the actual conditions, grasp the key points and clearly show the main direction. Without

correct plans and designs, it is impossible to work. Second, the counties and communes should have full-time farmland capital construction forces that engage in construction work year-round, and efforts should be made to strengthen technical training, gradually raise the level of mechanized construction work, increase work efficiency and guarantee the quality of engineering. Third, there must be strong leadership and organization for the construction force as a whole. It is necessary to promote those comrades who do not fear hardship, are not afraid of ghosts and witchery to leading positions for this work. These comrades should be able to give direct command on the forefront and at the same time share weal and woe with the masses. Only in this way can we be assured that the previously set goals can be reached. The construction forces must strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and must not work in a haphazard, disorderly way.

In farmland capital construction, it is necessary to make all-out efforts and at the same time pay attention to policies. In organizing socialist cooperation and coordination and carrying out joint projects, it is necessary to carry forward the communist style and at the same time conscientiously implement the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit and of exchange of equal values, and properly settle the issue of mutual benefit between communes and brigades. I believe that after 3 to 5 years of all-out efforts throughout the country, the faces of mountains and rivers certainly will be greatly changed, and great advances in agriculture will be more assured.

Comrades! Since the downfall of the "gang of four," under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, our party has laid down the Marxist line of the 11th National CCP Congress and set the great general task for the new period, and the specific lines, principles and policies for various fronts and spheres are also being perfected step by step. All this is warmly supported by the people of the whole country. With the goals clearly defined and the course charted, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are in high spirits, strong in morale and filled with confidence of victory. In the current excellent situation, we must conscientiously do a good job in all-round planning and strengthening of leadership, energetically grasp implementation and carefully do our work well. We must more vigorously develop the mass socialist labor emulation campaigns, select model workers and advanced workers at every level, and commend and reward their achievements. All our comrades, including leading comrades at all levels, should compete with each other in work and see who makes more contributions to the state and the people. I believe that all our comrades are determined and confident to rely on our own efforts and on the diligent labor, wisdom and talents of the masses in their hundreds of millions to achieve the great goal of modernizing agriculture and accomplishing the four modernizations.

CHAIRMAN MAO WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS--COMMEMORATING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 18-23

[Article by Hsu Shih-yu]

[Text] On 9 September 1976, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung passed away. Filled with boundless grief, I arrived in Peking from Canton by plane at noon that day to participate in various mourning activities. Standing beside the remains of Chairman Mao, who had forever closed his eyes, I saw a face filled with wisdom and kindness. I knew I could no longer hear the voice of Chairman Mao--our constant teacher--and I knew he could no longer lead us in continuing the revolution. At that point I, a man who seldom wept, could no longer hold back the tears; I was immersed in boundless sorrow. At that time all the people who participated in the mourning activities were stricken with grief. Only the "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan overtly showed signs of worry and dismay. Covertly, they stepped up the tempo toward usurping party and state leadership. Their wolfish ambitions were as clear as daylight. The two headquarters within the party were faced with a life-and-death struggle of a decisive nature. Seeing the hypocritical expressions of these few bad elements and hearing their preposterous remarks, I was filled with furious indignation. Carefully, I mentally prepared myself and decided to join with the majority of Political Bureau members, headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, to continue Chairman Mao's behests and adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and to fight to the finish against counterrevolutionaries like the "gang of four" and their accomplices at the risk of a thousand cuts. I would certainly live up to the concerns and expectations of Chairman Mao during the past scores of years. I would defy death to defend our crimson red country of socialism!

The solicitude and education given us by great leader Chairman Mao were boundless. When the Red Army was in the middle of its Long March in 1935, the opportunist ringleader Chang Kuo-tao, who worked in the 4th Front Army, practiced splittism, opposed Chairman Mao's correct line to

advance northward to resist Japanese aggression, and defied the orders issued by the party Central Committee. He arbitrarily led part of the 4th Front Army of the Red Army to the south to Sikang, formed a bogus central committee, and undermined the unity between the party and the Red Army. With the call and education from the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and with support from all comrades of the 2d Front Army led by Comrades Jen Pi-shih and Ho Lung, in October 1936 we, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the 4th Front Army, turned back to the north against Chang Kuo-tao's will, triumphantly joined forces in north Shensi with the 1st Front Army led by Chairman Mao, and then participated in the struggle to expose and criticize Chang Kuo-tao. In the beginning a number of comrades, including myself, did not fully understand this struggle against splittism. One morning the door of my cave-dwelling opened suddenly. Great leader Chairman Mao paid me a personal call. Smiling, Chairman Mao took my hand and sat down to have a heart-to-heart talk with me. He told me outright: Chang Kuo-tao was sent to the 4th Front Army by the party Central Committee. I myself, and the party Central Committee, should be responsible for Chang Kuo-tao's errors. It had nothing to do with you comrades. These words from Chairman Mao removed at one stroke the encumbrances in my mind; he made me feel at ease and extremely warm. How well Chairman Mao understood us worker-peasant cadres! Chairman Mao's warm words had wiped out all the annoyances in my mind. Chairman Mao also told me to do a good job in studying. I expressed my determination to resolutely implement his instruction. From that day on, Chairman Mao had given me a new political life.

In making revolution it is always better to have more people. This is a constant teaching of Chairman Mao. Proceeding from their counterrevolutionary ambitions, Chang Kuo-tao, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" invariably regarded the areas and units for which they were held responsible by the party as their own private properties. In these areas and units they drew the demarcation line with themselves as the center, cultivated their own confidants, eliminated those who disagreed with them, and ganged up to pursue their selfish interests until they formed the bourgeois headquarters within the party, undermined the unity of the party, brought tremendous losses to the revolutionary cause, and finally lost all standing and reputation and met with an ignominious end. When Chang Kuo-tao ran away in rebellion, he did not take with him even a single guard. Obviously he was extremely isolated. Chairman Mao had always advocated that in making revolution it is necessary to pool efforts from all corners of the country. He opposed mountaintop stronghold mentality and sectarianism. Chairman Mao treated cadres equally, no matter where they came from. He persistently called for unity and treated them with sincerity. In the struggle against Chang Kuo-tao's opportunist line, Chairman Mao strictly distinguished between Chang Kuo-tao--the ringleader who committed errors in political line--and the broad masses of cadres and people of the 4th Front Army. He implemented the correct policy of unity with the majority of people and greatly

inspired and educated the broad masses of cadres and people of the 4th Front Army. He strengthened the party's unity, expanded the revolutionary force, and safeguarded the victories of the revolution. We, the broad masses of cadres, particularly leading cadres, must study well this great proletarian broadmindedness of Chairman Mao's. We must thoroughly criticize the policy and workstyle of Chang Kuo-tao, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who isolated themselves from the masses, and their crimes of practicing revisionism and splittism, of intriguing and conspiring, of ganging up to pursue selfish interests, and of usurping party and state leadership.

In 1937 I entered the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College for study. There I listened to Chairman Mao's lectures on philosophy, politics and military affairs several times. I became more and more aware that Chairman Mao was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionist, and also a great proletarian militarist. Both his political line and his military line have greatly developed Marxism-Leninism and enriched the Marxist-Leninist treasure house. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the only correct line of our party, and only by steadfastly carrying out Chairman Mao's line can the proletarian revolutionary cause win ultimate victory. I was determined to follow Chairman Mao in making revolution my entire life. After I left the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Political and Military College, I accompanied Commander in Chief Chu Te to Taihang and was later assigned to Shantung. During the period from the war of resistance against Japan to the liberation war, in spite of complicated struggles and difficult conditions, I was able to do my best to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian political and military lines. If I did anything good for the party and the people during that period, I ought to attribute my success to Chairman Mao's teachings and to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee.

After nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao had talks on many occasions with us leading military cadres, inquired about the details of our work and study, and gave us a concrete and meticulous ideological education. Whenever any important struggle between the two lines occurred inside the party, Chairman Mao always gave us timely warnings and briefed us so as to arouse our vigilance against the inner-party struggle, lead us to clearly understand the erroneous line, and enable us to always keep a sober mind. In 1965 I went to Hangchow from Nanking as instructed by Chairman Mao. There he told me: You should be on the alert against the birth of revisionism, particularly against the birth of revisionism in the party Central Committee. He asked me: What shall you do if revisionism emerges in the party Central Committee? I replied: I shall lead my soldiers to embark on a northern expedition to defend Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee! Chairman Mao smiled and said: That would be too late! I thought over Chairman Mao's words for a long time. What Chairman Mao meant was that we should discover and do away with revisionists as early as possible, to nip them in the bud and avoid serious

frustrations to the revolutionary cause. Chairman Mao's words made me spiritually ready for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In August 1970 the party held the second plenum of its Ninth Central Committee in Lushan. The Lin Piao antiparty clique stirred up troubles inside and outside the meeting and launched a surprise attack. I convened the major east China group. Dancing to Lin Piao's tune, and under the pretext of supporting Chairman Mao as the chairman of the state, Lin Piao's followers in east China and the "gang of four's" confidants in Shanghai opposed Chairman Mao's wise policy decision that no state chairmanship should be instituted, in a vain attempt to have Lin Piao mount the throne of the state chairmanship. One afternoon I went to Chairman Mao's residence to attend a meeting. Chairman Mao held my hand and told me very cordially: As you can feel, my hands are cold and so are my feet. I can only act as a director and cannot be an actor. You go back and do some work and don't elect me chairman of the state. After hearing Chairman Mao's words, I immediately understood that it would be extremely wrong to elect him chairman of the state, because that would go against his will and not be in the interest of the party cause. It was Lin Piao's conspiracy, as he himself dreamed of becoming chairman of the state. I told Chairman Mao of my decision to go back and do some persuasive work. Chairman Mao exposed the Lin Piao antiparty clique's plot and smashed the counterrevolutionary armed coup d'etat engineered by them. However, refusing to give up his gangster designs, Lin Piao continued to vigorously engage in his counterrevolutionary scheme for armed rebellion. In August and September 1971, when Chairman Mao was out on an inspection trip, he again instructed us to come to Nanchang from Nanking. He explained to me the three basic principles in distinguishing the correct from the erroneous line: Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire. Chairman Mao told us: The Lushan incident is not over and remains to be solved. I'll talk to them when I return to Peking. If they don't want to see me, I'll call on them. We must convene the third plenum of the ninth party Central Committee. Chairman Mao's words enabled me to see more clearly Lin Piao's evil character and gave me the confidence to carry to the end the struggle against Lin Piao. A few days later Lin Piao's armed rebellion failed. He fled in panic and met his end in an explosion of his own making. Acting on orders from the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we promptly settled the score with Lin Piao's several sworn followers in east China.

Chairman Mao also repeatedly gave us important teachings with regard to the struggle between the party Central Committee and the "gang of four." In December 1973 Chairman Mao received the responsible persons of the various military regions. He asked me to move from the back row to the front. In all earnestness, Chairman Mao said to all present: In the Han Dynasty a person from Pei County in northern Kiangsu named Chou Po held the young Emperor Wen Ti in high esteem. Why don't you find the "Biography

of Chou Po" in the "Chronicles of the Han Dynasty" and read it yourselves? Chairman Mao then continued: You all must think about what we should do if revisionism emerges in China. At this, I replied: Wipe it out if it does! Why did Chairman Mao ask us to read the "Biography of Chou Po"? After this meeting, I consulted the "Chronicles of the Han Dynasty." I then found out that Chou Po had followed Liu Pang in bringing the country under control and establishing the Han Dynasty, and that later--when Empress Lu's followers, the Lus, tried to usurp power from the Han court--it was Chou Po and the others who wiped the Lus out. My understanding was that Chairman Mao wanted us to defend the People's Republic founded by our party and army under his leadership and prevent revisionism from usurping party and state power. Since the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had been smashed, who else could have wanted to usurp party and state power? Could it have been the "gang of four"? This was a serious question which one couldn't help but think about over and over again. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, the gang did not criticize Lin Piao, made a pretense of criticizing Confucius, and used this movement as a pretext to direct their spearhead at Premier Chou and other revolutionaries of the older generation. This opened my eyes. When Chairman Mao was praising Chou Po, Chiang Ching was making a hue and cry about Empress Lu. She was obviously harping on a tune contrary to Chairman Mao's. The gang's wild ambition to usurp the party was thus fully exposed here, and this naturally raised my vigilance against them. Later, when Chairman Mao repeatedly criticized the gang, it became even clearer to me what was going on.

If revisionism should emerge in China, what should we do? This question of Chairman Mao's kept ringing in my ears and became engraved in my mind. Chairman Mao charted for us in good time the orientation of struggle during the party's 9th, 10th and 11th struggles between the two lines. First of all, this reflected how deeply he trusted us old cadres and how tremendous was his concern for us. Chairman Mao consistently regarded the old revolutionary cadres who had gone through serious tests and possessed rich experience in struggle as valuable treasures of the party and state, calling them "fresh revolutionary flowers watered with the warm blood of countless martyrs." He treated the old cadres as the backbone force for opposing and preventing revisionism. He called on the old revolutionary cadres to take the lead in shouldering the heavy task of opposing and preventing revisionism and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to insure that our party and state would never change their political colors. How earnest Chairman Mao was in placing his hope in the old revolutionary cadres! At the crucial moment in a two-line struggle that will decide the destiny of the party and state, an old revolutionary cadre must keep Chairman Mao's teachings firmly in mind; fear neither removal from his post, expulsion from the party, imprisonment, separation nor the guillotine; and wage a life-or-death struggle with revisionist chieftains to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He must never, in an effort to retain his post, sell out party principles, join the "wind faction,"

and hire himself out to revisionist chieftains in order to carry out counterrevolutionary activities, acting as their pawn in usurping party and state power. When Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, several so-called "veteran cadres," reckless and shameless because of their greed, went back and forth day and night between Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in a vain attempt to hold onto their big legs so that they could be lifted high into the sky and ride roughshod over the people. People of this kind had not the slightest communist flavor. They betrayed the party, the communist cause--for which they themselves had expressed determination to struggle throughout their lifetime--and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and failed to live up to the teachings that he had cherished and for which he had great expectations. It is only natural, and nothing to be deplored, that these dregs are condemned by revolutionary people today.

While verbally clamoring for "support" for Chairman Mao, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" actually frenziedly opposed him and struggled tit for tat against Chairman Mao in everything and everywhere. Chairman Mao trusted and showed concern for revolutionary veteran cadres, but Lin Piao and the "gang of four" regarded veteran cadres as a huge obstacle to their usurpation of party and state power and energetically persecuted and trampled upon them. In the summer of 1967 Lin Piao and the "gang of four" dished out the reactionary slogan "ferret out a handful of people in the army" and directed their spearhead at a large number of leading army cadres. They instigated a group of people in Nanking, forced them to attack the leading organization of the Nanking PLA units, and threatened to ferret me out and struggle against me. When the news spread to Peking, the party Central Committee, headed by Chairman Mao, sent out the Kiangsu investigation group just in time. Premier Chou personally explained to the investigation group: The central authorities believe that the party committee of the Nanking PLA units is trustworthy. Comrade Hsu Shih-yu must not be ferreted out. If anyone wants to do so, I will be in Nanking within 1 hour. Premier Chou stressed: This is not my personal opinion. This is Chairman Mao's instruction! Almost simultaneously, Chairman Mao was receiving me in Shanghai. He clearly pointed out: The army must maintain its stability; it is still necessary to rely on the PLA. As a result of the personal intervention of great leader Chairman Mao and respected and beloved Premier Chou, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" did not succeed in their conspiracy to oppose and disrupt the army. Not long afterward, according to Chairman Mao's instruction, Premier Chou let me live in Chungnanhai, Peking, in order to recuperate from an illness. In the winter of 1971, while I was suffering from enteritis, Chairman Mao entrusted Premier Chou and Comrade Li Te-sheng with the task of meeting and speaking with my daughter, who was working in Peking. Respected and beloved Premier Chou cordially told her: Your father is ill and Chairman Mao is very much concerned. He told us to tell your father to follow the treatment and rest well. I will never forget Chairman Mao's love for me as long as I live. Neither will my family, from generation to generation, forget it.

The more Chairman Mao was concerned about and loved me, the more anxiously Lin Piao and the "gang of four" wanted to attack and persecute me. In the autumn of 1968 the Nanking Yangtze bridge construction was completed. When I cut the ribbon at the opening ceremony, the central newsreel and documentary film studio shot documentary films which I still haven't seen. During a visit to Peking for a meeting, Chang Chun-chiao cynically said to me: Your picture was very prominent. Perhaps you want to create "a core" for yourself in east China. This sinister adviser spread the rumor in order to smear me with malicious words. I pounded on the table and rudely retorted: Nonsense! I didn't make the film, and I never wanted to create "a core." It was you who wanted to create it for yourself! In August 1973, at the rostrum of the 10th party congress, I was seated on the right side of Chiang Ching, and Chang Chun-chiao was seated on her left. When reporters took photos of the rostrum by sections, they put me and Chiang Ching in one photo. In examining the photos, Chiang Ching shouted angrily: "I don't want to be pictured with Hsu Shih-yu!" Later on, the photo showing her and Chang Chun-chiao, seated shoulder to shoulder, was published. This really showed that "things of one species come together; different kinds of people form different kinds of groups." In my heart I was unwilling to pose for photos with these bad people. When I recall these past events, I deeply feel that Chairman Mao was the guide along my path and my liberator and that without him there wouldn't have been a Hsu Shih-yu--me! Without Chairman Mao's wise leadership and the will he bequeathed, our party and state would have changed their colors!

For the broad masses of cadres, Chairman Mao always proceeded toward the goals of conducting training and achieving qualitative development by encouraging cadres to preserve their good points and fully utilize their strong points, and by enlightening them to overcome shortcomings through study so that they could make up for what they lacked. Chairman Mao showed his concern and care for me, but he also imposed strict demands on me through the principle of dividing one into two. Not only did he guide and educate me politically, but he also repeatedly encouraged me to study natural science and classical literature in order to raise my scientific and cultural level. At a meeting in December 1973 Chairman Mao gave me a copy of the joint Chinese edition of Copernicus' "Theory on Celestial Bodies" and Bruno's "On Infinity, the Universe and Other Worlds." He asked me to give this copy to the Purple Mountain Astronomical Observatory in Nanking and instructed me to seriously read these kinds of books on natural science. Chairman Mao asked me: Comrade Hsu Shih-yu, have you ever read "The Dream of the Red Chamber"? I told him that I had. He said: "The Dream of the Red Chamber" should be read five times before one can rightfully talk about it. It should be read five times. I replied: I will certainly comply. Chairman Mao then pointed out: Among Chinese classical novels, "The Dream of the Red Chamber" is the best. You people should engage in literary study and combine cultural with military skills! You people only talk about military affairs and love to fight wars, but you must also discuss cultural things! Civilian officials discuss military affairs, military officers

discuss culture; both civilian officials and military officers must read literature. Chairman Mao always showed special concern for raising the scientific and cultural levels of the worker-peasant cadres and veteran cadres and issued a number of comments and instructions in this regard. Chairman Mao pointed out early in the 1950's: "We have entered a period in which what we are penetratingly engaging in, thinking and studying means going doggedly after socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and modernization of national defense; this new historic period is such that we should commence the penetrating study of atomic energy." As a leading cadre in the new period indicated by Chairman Mao, how can I shoulder the glorious mission of realizing the four modernizations if I make no effort to raise my own scientific and cultural levels? The "gang of four" opposed the idea of having the laboring people and the worker-peasant cadres grasp science and culture by agitating that "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." This nonsense has ulterior motives, pure and simple. We must respond to wise leader Chairman Hua's great call for raising the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation, further study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, study science and culture and truly achieve the goals to which Chairman Mao aspired: combining cultural with military skills and becoming both Red and expert.

In his lifetime the great leader Chairman Mao trained hundreds of thousands of cadres in our party and army to engage in proletarian revolution. I, Hsu Shih-yu, am one of many cadres cared for and cherished by Chairman Mao! There isn't one single cadre in our party or army who hasn't been cherished by Chairman Mao or hasn't received the blessing of Mao Tsetung Thought like the sunshine, rain and dew. I am one of hundreds of thousands of cadres cared for and cherished by Chairman Mao. From personal experience I feel that people very clearly realize the profundity of Chairman Mao's proletarian sentiment, the extent of his proletarian mind, and that the care and education Chairman Mao gave us not only signify relationships between individuals but fully manifest the line and policies of a Marxist-Leninist political party and the correct relationship between proletarian revolutionary leaders and cadres. On the issue of handling party cadres, Chairman Mao set a splendid example for the whole party--his own great practice.

In the past 2 years since smashing the "gang of four" antiparty clique with one blow and winning great victory in the struggle to uphold the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has raised high the great banner of Chairman Mao, grasped the key link and run the country well, eliminated chaos and restored order, implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and scored tremendous achievements. Many facts have proved that Chairman Hua is the best successor to Chairman Mao and the wise leader and supreme commander of our party and army.

In his lifetime Chairman Mao reminded us on numerous occasions: In making revolution, we must follow the correct line, not just an individual.

Man eventually dies; Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have all died, yet we are still continuing the revolution by following the orientation charted by Marxism-Leninism. Now that Chairman Mao has also left us, we must raise high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carry the cause of the proletarian revolution through to the end.

Over the past 2 years, having freed themselves from the political persecution and mental shackles of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," large numbers of cadres have achieved personal ease of mind and high spirits. They are determined to closely follow Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, work vigorously for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out socialist revolution and construction. A new spirit prevails throughout the party and army. However, we should also realize that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" created havoc inside our party for years and that the "gang of four" antiparty clique caused the greatest harm since the founding of our party. They engaged in all-round sabotage in the party, government and army, in the fields of theory, line and workstyle, as well as in the superstructure and economic base. Their counterrevolutionary revisionist line, bourgeois reactionary ideology and corrupt workstyle still has considerable support from some comrades, including a few veteran comrades, whose world outlooks have not been properly reformed. Their pernicious influence was both widespread and deep. Isn't it true that even today some people resort to boasting, flattery and touting and form small circles? Isn't it true that some people still love to brag but loathe criticism and think they have been always and absolutely correct? Isn't it true that some people still do not read books or newspapers, make no effort to raise their scientific and cultural levels and pride themselves on being "old rough-and-tough types"? Isn't it true that some people cannot distinguish between right and wrong with regard to line and theory which had been turned upside down? In commemoration of the second anniversary of the great leader Chairman Mao's death, and in memory of the care and education he gave me, I first want to spur myself on and encourage myself. But I also want people to know about my personal experiences so that they can better understand Chairman Mao's earnest expectations of the broad masses of cadres, especially veteran cadres, and realize how he treated and educated the cadres. Let us always bear in mind Chairman Mao's care and teachings, rally closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and courageously defend and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We should remain vigorous in spite of our age, generate revolutionary youthfulness and do our share in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution in order to fulfill the expectations Chairman Mao had of us while he was still living. We must always raise Chairman Mao's banner even higher, implement the line of the 11th national party congress and advance courageously in order to realize the general task for the new period!

DEEPLY CHERISH THE MEMORY OF COMRADE LO JUI-CHING, AN OUTSTANDING LEADER  
OF OUR ARMY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 24-29

[Article by Yang Yung]

[Text] Over a month ago, esteemed and beloved Comrade Lo Jui-ching was still leading us in properly carrying out the task of grasping the key link in running the army and preparing for war as defined by the Military Commission. My speech at the National Militia Work Conference was carefully read and revised by him. After completing the necessary preparations for this conference, he told me he wanted to consult a doctor. He would rejoin us to survey the terrain. We looked forward eagerly to his early recovery in order to lead us in following Chairman Hua on the new Long March. But the last thing we expected was that he would succumb to his disease. On learning the bad news, I was overwhelmed with grief. I had a sleepless night. Our party had lost a tested loyal fighter, our army an outstanding leader, and I personally an esteemed and beloved commander and teacher.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching had fought for the communist cause for over 50 years. In the two-line struggle within the party he stood firm, raised a clear-cut banner and adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Under the leadership of the party, he made major contributions to building a modern proletarian army and wresting victory on the 25,000-li Long March, victory in the war of resistance against Japan and victory in the war of liberation. He also contributed significantly to safeguarding the safety of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and the safety of the great socialist motherland, to strengthening the building of our army along revolutionary and modern lines and to the early realization of the general task for the new period.

I

Comrade Lo Jui-ching was not only an outstanding political work leader but also an outstanding military commander. In the war years he fought

with Chairman Mao everywhere, from north to south, and went through thick and thin making outstanding contributions to the Chinese people's cause of liberation.

In 1933, when the Red Army launched a fifth campaign to lift the "siege," I met Comrade Lo Jui-ching for the first time at a conference in Lichuan, Kiangsi. After 1935 I worked under his direct supervision. He deeply impressed me. He was an outstanding leading cadre. Certain veteran comrades often spoke of him. When he was political commissar of the 11th Division of the IV Army Corps of the Red Army, he resolutely upheld the spirit of the Kutien conference. He brought life to the army units. In May 1931 he was seriously wounded in the face in the second campaign to lift the "siege," but he kept on directing the battle. In 1932 he was political commissar of the 4th Red Army. Though his wound had not yet healed, he again went to the front to direct operations. He joined the fraternal army units in wiping out the entire division led by Chang Cheng of the Kuomintang and in occupying Changchou in Fukien. With shrapnel still embedded in his face, he fought all the way on the Red Army's Long March, climbing over snowclad mountains and crossing grasslands until he reached north Shensi. His strong revolutionary perseverance was admirable.

Beginning in 1936, Comrade Lo Jui-ching was in charge of the Red Army University and then of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. He resolutely carried out the educational guideline formulated by Chairman Mao. He promoted the learning style marked by unity, intensity, solemnity and vigor. Under inhospitable and spartan conditions, he dedicated himself selflessly to training large numbers of personnel devoted to running the party, the country and the army. In 1939 he led several thousand students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College and other schools in Yen-an in crossing the Yellow River. Maneuvering their way through heavy enemy blockades in the area of Taiyuan, they penetrated deep behind enemy lines. In those most trying years of the war of resistance against Japan, when mopping-up operations were frequent and when people had to eat black peas and wild plants, he fought undauntedly at the foot of the Taihsing Mountains.

In early 1946, under the direct leadership of Comrade Yeh Chien-ying, Comrade Lo Jui-ching acted as chief of staff of the Chinese communist delegation to the executive branch of the Military Mediation Office. He resolutely carried out the peace talk guidelines and strategies of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. In the acute and complicated struggle he was bold and resourceful. He was fluent and eloquent in a war of words with the U.S.-Chiang reactionary group. He was once intercepted at the Chinglung Bridge in the suburbs as he rode in his car from Chang-Chiakou to Peiping carrying several boxes of code books. Calm and composed, Comrade Lo Jui-ching accused the enemy of a provocative act. He firmly refused to allow the car to be inspected. Playing a dirty trick, the enemy tried to take the car to the Chingshan military police and military intelligence office. Acting in accordance with

Comrade Yeh Chien-ying's instructions, Comrade Lo Jui-ching organized our own party to escort the car. Meanwhile, he demanded that the Military Mediation Office immediately establish a special executive group. The enemy's crime of sabotaging the cease-fire was thus exposed through the talks. Our side also called a press conference to expose the enemy's despicable act. Due to our resolute struggle, the U.S.-Chiang reactionary group was greatly embarrassed and compelled to apologize and return the car. The code books finally reached Yen-an safely. Gen George Marshall could not help but say: The Communist Party was terrific, and the Kuomintang was no match for it. Chiang Kai-shek then launched an all-out civil war. When leaving Peiping, Comrade Lo Jui-ching said: "When I return to Peiping, it will be its liberation day!"

In June 1947 Commander in Chief Chu suggested to Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee that Comrade Lo Jui-ching be appointed political commissar of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei field army corps, praising him as "an outstanding cadre" who "has performed well in carrying out training programs and in directing actual battle operations." Led by Commander in Chief Chu and Comrades Nieh Jung-chen and Hsu Hsiang-chien, he, together with leading comrades of the army corps Yang Te-chih and Keng Piao, seriously carried out Chairman Mao's guidelines on mobile warfare and the war of annihilation. They successively led the army units in fighting the battles of Chengtai, Chingfengtien, Shihchiachuang, Peiping-Tientsin, Taiyuan and other areas. In all these battles the army units performed admirably.

In the battle of Chingfengtien in October 1947, Comrade Lo Jui-ching did a thorough job of mobilizing forces. He directed the battle and every operation. He encouraged everyone not to think of difficulties and fatigue. Give the 3d Army, the main force of the enemy, no chance to escape! Encircle and annihilate it resolutely! His army unit completed a rapid march of over 240 li in one day and one night. It completely wiped out the 3d Army and captured its commander, Lo Li-jung. The battle of Chingfengtien, which resulted in the total annihilation of bandit Chiang's 3d Army, brought about tremendous changes favorable to us in the struggle in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei area. This won the praise of the Military Commission. Commander in Chief Chu dashed off a poetic greeting: "Look up at the bright midautumn moon high above the strategic point; bathed in its silver light is a triumphant flower in the border area."

The second day after the conclusion of the battle of Chingfengtien, Chairman Mao again ordered an attack on Shihchiachuang. Comrade Lo Jui-ching and other comrades immediately called a cadres meeting to pass on his instructions and to make the necessary arrangements. Commander in Chief Chu gave important instructions at the meeting. Shihchiachuang was fortified with over 6,000 large and small pillboxes. The enemy bragged about its ability to "defend it for 3 years." To fight this battle well, Comrade Lo Jui-ching led the army units in

promoting military democracy, raising problems and devising solutions. He went to the front to survey the terrain and check the enemy positions. He studied how to solve the strategic and tactical problems of attacking the city. He launched a fierce attack together with fraternal units. After several days of fierce fighting, most of the enemy troops defending Shihchiachuang were annihilated. The remnants of the enemy put up stiff resistance. On learning that an enemy division commander had been captured, Lo Jui-ching immediately ordered the commanding officer at the front to tell that division commander to advise his men to surrender. By thus demoralizing the enemy forces, he quickly brought the battle to an end. With the liberation of Shihchiachuang, the two big liberated areas--the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei area and the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan area--were united. This played a very important role in the large-scale counterattack launched on the north China battlefield. Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee cabled awards. Commander in Chief Chu praised this battle as "an unprecedented move to storm major cities," expressing his joy poetically: "Our party boasts an endless crop of heroes; our last worry is the graying of our hair."

In the well-known battle of Peiping-Tientsin, Chairman Mao ordered the Yang-Lo-Keng army corps to encircle the enemy's 35th Army in Hsinpaoan in order to cut the enemy's links between Changchiakou and Peiping. Comrade Lo Jui-ching and the leadership of the army corps quickly deployed their forces and began a heavy siege against the 35th Army. Chairman Mao ordered that the enemy army "be encircled but not fired upon." Comrade Lo Jui-ching personally conveyed and demanded strict compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions. Only after receiving further instructions from Chairman Mao did our troops launch an all-out attack. In a matter of 17 hours we completely wiped out the 35th Army, "the pride" of the enemy. The attack on Hsinpaoan brought the whole battle of Peiping-Tientsin to life. To carry out Chairman Mao's instructions on the peaceful liberation of Peiping and to protect this ancient city's culture, Comrade Lo Jui-ching did much work. He taught his troops to strictly observe discipline and to follow the prescribed policy. When they approached the northwestern suburbs of Peiping, enemy artillerymen poured fire on them from Chingshan, inflicting casualties. Some of our artillerymen fired back on their own initiative. Comrade Lo Jui-ching immediately stopped them and patiently taught them to strictly carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and to protect cultural relics and people's lives and property. Forceful leadership by Lo Jui-ching and other comrades insured an outstanding performance in accomplishing the glorious mission with which the army units under them were charged. Comrade Lo Jui-ching's magnificent contributions to the overthrowing of the three big mountains and the liberation of the whole of China will always live in our memory.

## II

While in charge of the headquarters of the General Staff, Comrade Lo Jui-ching resolutely carried out and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He was one of the earliest comrades to notice Lin Piao's revisionist and bourgeois military line and to wage a resolute struggle. I was then working in the Peking PLA unit and had more contact with him. I deeply felt that Comrade Lo Jui-ching was a very diligent student of works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. He had a relatively deep understanding of Mao Tsetung Thought. Due to his firm political stand, his hard work and his wealth of experience in struggle, he contributed significantly to the revolutionization and modernization of the headquarters of the General Staff and the whole army. He was a good pupil of Chairman Mao and our good commander.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching persisted in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to educate army units. He opposed Lin Piao's criminal act of wrecking the effort to study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. In compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions, he prepared a list of books by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. After he had obtained Chairman Mao's approval, he passed the list on to others at a conference of high-ranking army cadres. He demanded that, while giving proper attention to Chairman Mao's works, everyone should study well 30 books according to a plan. This succeeded in resisting the "shortcut" advocated by Lin Piao and his plot to oppose the study of Marxism and Leninism. With reference to such bourgeois experimental sinister stuff as "reciting from memory points for attention," "obtaining instant results," etc. concocted by Lin Piao, Comrade Lo Jui-ching sharply pointed out that the practice of learning by rote, turning to books for ready answers and seeking "instant results" instead of seriously studying the spiritual essence of Chairman Mao's works was a study method that ran counter to the revolutionary style of study of linking theory with practice. He stressed the need to systematically study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and to apply the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought stand, viewpoint and method in remolding thinking and guiding work. When Lin Piao dished up "the peak," "the most elevated and the most lively" and other stuff which was "left" in form but right in reality, Comrade Lo Jui-ching aptly pointed out: "Could Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought have reached its peak of development? Equating the revolutionary teacher's theory with 'the peak' runs counter to Mao Tsetung Thought." "'The most elevated and the most lively'---could there have been something less elevated and less lively? Chairman Mao would not agree if he knew about this."

Comrade Lo Jui-ching firmly and unswervingly carried out Chairman Mao's strategy and guideline on positive defense and resisted Lin Piao's guideline on passive defense calling for unplanned "resistance" and random "release." He did much outstanding work in preparing against

wars of aggression. Tirelessly, he often went out to survey the terrain. Lin Piao foolishly said: "Don't survey the terrain. Read the map." Comrade Lo Jui-ching retorted: "We must both read the map and survey the terrain. We cannot fight without knowing the area." Comrade Lo Jui-ching left his footprints from the shore of the Yellow Sea to the north and south of Tienshan and from Hainan Island to the ridge of Tahsingan. He crossed mountains, waded through streams, set foot on islets, entered tunnels, stood guard and mixed with those at company levels as he checked up on preparations for war and brought Chairman Mao's thinking on fighting to every corner. He always worked with the leading comrades of the relevant military regions and the relevant units, analyzing enemy movements, studying countermeasures, formulating war programs, strengthening war preparations in army units and taking proper care of militia work. He did his part in safeguarding border areas, in smashing the Chiang gang's harassment activities and in participating in other battles.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching was greatly concerned about the modernization of our army, resisted the error of Lin Piao, who just gave lipservice to "revolutionization" and advocated "the use of mules" instead of seeking modernization. When Soviet revisionism tore agreements to pieces and withdrew specialists in a vain attempt to thwart our army's modernization, Comrade Lo Jui-ching pointed out with great indignation: Our army must "have all the modern technology and equipment." He came forward to join Comrades Ho Lung and Nieh Jung-chen in shouldering the heavy burden of developing a national defense industry and scientific research. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, "marshals and generals should all do their part." After several years of joint efforts, our advanced science and technology for national defense showed great progress. Great achievements were also scored in the research and manufacture of conventional weapons.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching firmly upheld the dialectical relations between politics and military affairs and between politics and professional and technical matters. He opposed Lin Piao's crime of putting military affairs in opposition to politics, neglecting military training and sabotaging war preparations. It pained him to note that Lin Piao just paid lipservice to politics and only concerned himself with civil but not military affairs. This greatly retarded our army's building efforts. Lo Jui-ching stressed: Proper military training is of major strategic significance. In the past we relied mainly on fighting to train the army. Now we must rely on training to prepare for fighting.

In 1964 Comrade Lo Jui-ching helped Vice Chairman Yeh to actively organize the whole army to launch a spectacular mass military training movement and scored outstanding achievements. He left a brilliant page in the annals of our military training. At a Political Bureau meeting, Comrade Ho Lung described the new situation in training that had appeared in army units. Chairman Mao said happily: It is so good. Why don't you show me around? In accordance with Comrade Ho Lung's instructions,

Comrade Lo Jui-ching personally led us in organizing military demonstrations of the Peking, Tsinan and other army units. Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, NPC Standing Committee Chairman Chu, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other leading officials of the party Central Committee, as well as leading comrades of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions who were meeting in Peking, reviewed these joint military exercises. Chairman Mao and the commanders of the party Central Committee and the Military Commission warmly cheered every demonstration and gave many important instructions. Chairman Mao said: The Peking and Tsinan PLA units performed well. Their achievements must be popularized throughout the army. This job must be given great attention. Quick arrangements must be made. The "Night Tiger Company" must be held up as an example to all. Now every battalion must start setting up such a company so that "night tiger companies" will eventually be found throughout the army. Premier Chou said: You have performed quite well. I feel very happy about it. This is the way to drill troops. All soldiers must be trained this way. The militia must also be so trained. The enemy can then do nothing against us.

To properly carry out the instructions of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, Comrade Lo Jui-ching did much work. With reference to the problems then found in drilling soldiers, he specially stressed that attention be given to mass enthusiasm for drilling. He pointed out: We must promote not only the revolutionary spirit of working hard and enduring hardship but also the need to combine labor with proper rest. We must impose strict standards on drilling while keeping the needs of war in mind. We must take a down-to-earth approach and respect science and not act haphazardly. Only by combining labor with proper rest can mass enthusiasm for drilling last. Only by making steady progress can there be a big leap forward in military training.

Lin Piao slanderously charged that the 1964 mass drilling movement had "a negative impact on politics" and was prompted by "a purely military viewpoint." Comrade Lo Jui-ching pointed out: 1964 was the best year in military training since the founding of the state, and also the best year in the study of Chairman Mao's works. We cannot attack certain minor defects in military training. We must encourage and not discourage others and not always throw cold water. Refuting the fallacy that "politics can have a negative impact on other fields" advocated by Lin Piao, Comrade Lo Jui-ching pointed out: "We cannot make such a sweeping statement." "Politics is the commander. Political work must insure the successful accomplishment of a military task. Otherwise, if we talk about politics every day and always fail to do professional work well, then politics really cannot serve us well." These words pointedly exposed the nature of bourgeois politics practiced by Lin Piao. They demonstrated Comrade Lo Jui-ching's dauntless spirit of neither fearing ghosts nor believing in the unorthodox and of upholding truth and daring to fight.

Lin Piao often pressured Comrade Lo Jui-ching to fall into line. Comrade Lo Jui-ching was open and aboveboard and knew right from wrong. He had abiding faith in Chairman Mao and refused to go along. Lin Piao saw him as an obstacle in usurping party and state power and resorted to sinister means to frame and persecute him. Lin Piao used a small ailment as an excuse for a long period of convalescence. He did not work. When briefed on the progress of work, he refused to listen. However, he accused Comrade Lo Jui-ching of "concealing everything" from him, "torturing" him and "launching a surprise attack." He even fabricated the story that Comrade Lo Jui-ching wanted to "usurp the post of minister of national defense." Lin Piao ganged up with the "gang of four" to torture Comrade Lo Jui-ching mentally and physically, so that he left us at an early age. This is an unpardonable counterrevolutionary crime on the part of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Though physically crippled by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," Lo Jui-ching remained loyal to Chairman Mao, the party and the people. "One who suffers for the party does not complain. An abiding faith unshaken by physical torture is an admirable quality." What a noble revolutionary quality! Lin Piao and the "gang of four's" persecution only proved Comrade Lo Jui-ching to be a brave fighter who adhered to and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In 1973 Comrade Lo Jui-ching was in a Peking hospital. He had then not gone back to work. Several old comrades and I went to see him. After a long separation we felt an extra sense of affection for each other. I firmly believed that, after being tested over several decades, he was loyal to the party. I once asked Premier Chou: What is the trouble with Comrade Lo Jui-ching after all? The premier replied: He has no trouble!

Comrade Lo Jui-ching hated like poison the "gang of four," a scourge to the state and the people. After reading an article on "Water Margin" concocted by the "gang of four" in 1975, he sharply pointed out: Something is hidden between the lines. The spearhead is pointed at Premier Chou and Vice Chairman Teng. In 1976 Chairman Mao was critically ill, and Premier Chou and NPC Standing Committee Chairman Chu passed away in succession. In those days Lo Jui-ching feared for the future and destiny of the party and the state because the four pests ran wild. This further strengthened his determination to fight to the last. He said to some old comrades: "I have nothing to fear. I would even sacrifice my life in fighting them!" After the passing of Chairman Mao, he sensed in his overwhelming grief that the "gang of four" had stepped up their pace to usurp party and state power. When the leading comrades of the Peking PLA unit came to see him in the hospital, Lo Jui-ching repeatedly told them: "You must listen to what the party Central Committee says and what its head says. You are responsible for the safety of Peking." These forceful words gave full expression to his infinite love for the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and for Vice Chairman Yeh and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and his faith in them.

### III

Comrade Lo Jui-ching wholeheartedly supported the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, resolutely carried out the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the country well made by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, and devoted tremendous energy to organize the implementation of the policy and task set by the Military Commission: to grasp the key link of class struggle, run the army well and be prepared against war. He was an able helper to Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng in leading and commanding the army.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching regained his revolutionary youth when the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with a single blow. He told Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee: "Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission headed by Chairman Hua, I will try my best to do more work for the party in my remaining years." "I will strive to live up to the name of a veteran cadre who has followed Chairman Mao for several decades." After he was elected a member of the Standing Committee and secretary general of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, he bravely took up burdensome tasks and boldly assumed responsibility just as he had done in the past. He turned his hatred for Lin Piao and the "gang of four" into a tremendous force that impelled him onward to continue the revolution. Since he had high blood pressure, heart disease and pulmonary emphysema, and particularly since one of his legs was impaired as a result of the persecution of the Lin Piao anti-party clique, he had great difficulty in his movements. However, he proudly said: "I will work together with everyone else, do what I should do and do it well even with one leg." "I will turn myself from a 72-year-old into a 27-year-old and follow Chairman Hua in the new Long March." "A communist must fight for the communist cause. If he thinks about his personal affairs all day long, how can he be qualified to see Marx, Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Chu?" He did what he said. With unbelievably great fortitude, he fought against illness and physical disability and worked selflessly day and night. When he examined and endorsed documents and telegrams, he always read and pondered them with great care. Even when he discovered problems, even small ones, he would immediately call for an investigation to determine whether the reported facts were true, whether the demands were reasonable and the opinions of concerned units were unanimous. He conscientiously and carefully guarded the pass for Chairman Hua and the Military Commission of the party Central Committee. In 1977 Comrade Lo Jui-ching personally organized the drafting of relevant documents for an important meeting of the Military Commission. He repeatedly weighed and revised the wording and solicited opinions in an effort to prepare good documents for the meeting. He normally worked 15 to 16 hours a day and often had to be urged to take his meals. When he was confined to his sickbed, as soon as he no longer ran a temperature he called meetings in the hospital to hear reports and

to study and solve major problems of army building. On one occasion he examined and handled more than 600 documents and letters from the masses during his 100-day stay in the hospital. The spirit of "earnestness" and "all-out exertion" always fostered by Chairman Mao was sharply manifested in the person of Comrade Lo Jui-ching.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching always requested instructions on important issues and firmly followed the orders of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. However, he boldly assumed responsibility in handling problems of routine work so that Chairman Hua and the respective vice chairmen could spare more energies for more important matters of the party and the state.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching firmly grasped the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." He always reminded us that thoroughly eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and properly consolidating the armed forces is a serious task. He followed every step of the plan formulated by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and grasped the work of consolidating the armed forces without letup. He always taught us in these words of Vice Chairman Teng: It is the duty of us veteran cadres to properly consolidate our army so that Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee may rest assured. When he discovered that some army units were still trying to hold things back, he hit the nail on the head and pointed out: "This is either because people are fainthearted and hesitant in action or the leaders have a bad past record. If you are not clean, you should take the initiative to clarify your problem." The masses should be mobilized to vigorously and ruthlessly expose and criticize those who cast themselves at the foot of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," sell their bodies and souls in exchange for high positions, engage in speculation and machination and trample others underfoot in order to climb up. In investigation, he strictly adhered to the party's policies and demonstrated firmness and caution in his efforts to ascertain the facts and stabilize the overall situation. He instructed us not to follow the practices of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Comrade Lo Jui-ching also showed great concern for our army's work of building leading bodies at all levels. He said that we must resolutely follow the instructions of the Military Commission in assigning people to leading bodies. He also said that we should take care not to place on leading bodies people like Wang Hsi-feng, who "talked sweetly while harboring evil thoughts, engaged in doubledealing and smiled at you while trying to trip you," Li Lin-fu, who had "honey on his lips and murder in his heart," or people who had a habit of stealing, pretending and bragging. He firmly implemented Chairman Mao's principle of "three dos and three don'ts" and did a lot of work in revolutionizing the leading bodies of our army at all levels.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching attached great importance to typical examples and used the experience gained in a selected point to guide and promote army building. Upon reading an article written by a reporter of LIBERATION

ARMY DAILY on the revolutionization of the leading body in the 1st Air Force Division, he was greatly excited and heartened, because the leading body of this division was really up to the mark politically, in workstyle and in work. He immediately told the air force to verify the materials about this division and to report the findings to the Military Commission. He also suggested that this division be commended before the whole army in the name of the Military Commission. Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the Military Commission agreed with Comrade Lo Jui-ching's proposal and at once ordered that the experience of the 1st Air Force Division in the revolutionization of the leading body be popularized throughout the army. Comrade Lo Jui-ching said: "If 70 or 80 percent, not to say all, of the leading bodies at and above the divisional level will do just that, our army will take on an altogether new aspect and will be able to accelerate its pace of revolutionization and modernization."

Comrade Lo Jui-ching called upon the leading cadres of our army and the working personnel of leading organs to go down to the lower levels to conduct investigation and study in order to quickly straighten out our army and get ready to fight. He once read a report on how a leading army comrade went down to the army units to make investigation and used the experience gained in selected points to guide and promote overall work. As soon as he finished reading, he suggested that this report be transmitted to various major units of the army and demanded that all physically fit senior army cadres go down to two or three selected points to discover and solve problems. He was strict with others but was even stricter with himself. He did all the things he expected of others. A few days after he left the hospital, and walking with a crutch, he took us on a field survey, even though he was not fully recovered and was still in pain. Everywhere he went he explored tunnels, reviewed troops, heard reports, made investigations, personally tackled some of the longstanding problems, and encouraged the army units to strive for new victories in grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well under the leadership of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission headed by Chairman Hua. This year, spurred by the senior cadres, all leading army cadres at various levels took their work groups out of the offices and down to the grassroots units and used the experience they gained in selected points to guide and promote overall work. In this way they quickened the pace of army consolidation and war preparation.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching repeatedly instructed us to step up our preparation against a war of aggression. With great energy he assisted Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng in unifying the whole army ideologically in its operations and in studying the new circumstances and solving the new problems in preparing against war which resulted from the new historical conditions. He showed great concern for the modernization of army equipment. Together with concerned leading comrades of the State Council, he did much to straighten out the defense

industry. With everything going well in grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well, he always remained sober and watchful for problems that might be concealed by achievements and progress. For example, a brandnew situation emerged in military training after the movement to conduct line education in the "10 shoulds and 10 shouldn'ts" in the armed forces. With his acute and penetrating insight, Comrade Lo Jui-ching immediately discovered signs which deserved our attention. He repeatedly enjoined us: The major issue at present is for us to conscientiously carry out the decision of the Military Commission regarding training and rectify the unwholesome tendencies which are still found in our military training, such as not proceeding from the actual conditions of modern warfare, practicing formalism and championism, taking an overly narrow view of one's responsibility, not properly carrying out political and ideological work in troop training and exhausting the fighters with harsh drills and management. Therefore, it is necessary to send men to stay in selected companies to discover and solve problems in order to lead military training into normal channels and produce outstanding results. Thanks to the specific guidance of Comrade Lo Jui-ching, problems arising from military training were promptly rectified, and a more solid job was done in preparing against war.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching led a revolutionary, militant and glorious life, a life of utter devotion to the revolution and of wholehearted, single-minded service to the people. The revolutionary contributions he made will go down in the history of our party and army and will forever urge us onward. We must learn from his noble qualities of being selfless and fearless and open and aboveboard, his revolutionary spirit of sticking to the truth and daring to struggle, his fine workstyle of working diligently and conscientiously without any thought of self. We must turn our grief into strength. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission headed by Chairman Hua and guided by the line of the 11th national party congress, we must strive to fulfill in the shortest time possible the tasks set forth by the Military Commission on grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and on preparing against war and work hard to accomplish the general task for the new period.

## THE KEY LIES IN DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] At present the political and economic situations in our country are excellent, and the situation in our vast countryside is also very good. Stimulated by the general task for the new period, the millions of peasants are bringing their extremely high socialist enthusiasm into play, triumphing over such natural calamities as drought, scoring a good summer harvest and laying the foundation for a bumper harvest this autumn.

At the recent National Conference on Farmland Capital Construction called by the State Council, Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Li and other leading comrades of the Central Committee again exhorted us to push agriculture forward as quickly as possible. This is an important policy decision and plan for realizing the general task for the new period. Achieving success in agriculture is not only the objective demand for further developing the excellent situation, but also the urgent need for speeding up realization of the four modernizations and a fundamental problem of strategic significance for rapidly developing the national economy.

Since liberation our country's agriculture has greatly developed. However, because of serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four," agricultural development is still far from the anticipated goal. At present China's agriculture must still rely mainly on manual labor, labor productivity is very low, the marketable rate of agricultural produce is also very low, the level of accumulation is not high and peasants' incomes have improved very little. In a big country such as ours with a population of 800 million people, 700 million peasants still have to work very hard to produce enough food. This condition must be changed. If we are to realize the four modernizations within the present century and the 10-year plan for development of the national economy and to achieve the target of producing 800 billion

catties of grain throughout the country by 1985, comrades in the entire party and people throughout the country must be most concerned with pushing agriculture forward more quickly. If agriculture cannot increase, not only will industry and the whole national economy not rise but neither will science and technology. Even if they do rise temporarily, they will still be forced to fall back. If we are confronted with a major natural disaster or an outbreak of war, we will be in a more passive position. This is why we must speed up the rate of agricultural development. This is not only a pressing economic problem but also an extremely important political problem that has a bearing on preparing against war and natural disasters and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, not all leading comrades fully understand the urgency and importance of developing agriculture. In discussions at this National Conference on Farmland Capital Construction, a relatively large number of comrades had still not resolved the concept of taking agriculture as the foundation, and some were even in a completely unconscious, blind state. These comrades must quickly sober up, raise their consciousness and resolve this problem theoretically and ideologically.

Marx said: "An agricultural labor productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the laborer is the basis of all societies." ("Das Kapital," Vol 3, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 885) Based on this fundamental Marxist principle, Chairman Mao summed up experiences both at home and abroad and, in his "On the Ten Major Relationships," creatively advanced the brilliant concept of speeding up agricultural development to promote and guarantee the development of industry, particularly heavy industry.

In "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao further epitomized the problem of developmental relationships among heavy industry, light industry and agriculture as a problem on the path to China's industrialization. Then, Chairman Mao again correctly pointed out the necessity of implementing the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in China's socialist construction, and of making arrangements for the national economic plan in accordance with the proper order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. For the sake of further fulfilling the concept of taking agriculture as the key link, we must completely and accurately master and apply Chairman Mao's above-mentioned teachings, translate them into action, and conscientiously implement the policies and principles formulated by Chairman Mao.

The practice of socialist construction in our country over the past 28 years has repeatedly proved that it is not very easy to push agriculture forward. Every time the tempo of industry is quickened, agriculture frequently appears to be out of step. However, if properly carried out, the tempo can be quickened. Consequently, we must further centralize

and mobilize the forces of the whole party and the whole country and do everything possible in the way of materials and technology, finance and economy, organization and leadership and qualified people in order to strengthen agriculture and build up a stable, solid agricultural base. The kind of attitude we adopt with regard to developing agriculture is actually a question of whether or not we genuinely or hypothetically want to realize the four modernizations. If hypothetically, it means weakening the agricultural base. If genuinely, it will be imperative to strengthen this agricultural base.

As early as 1962 Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee stipulated that the plans formulated and measures taken by all departments of the national economy must affirm taking agriculture as the foundation and must be geared to the needs of the countryside, and that their primary task must be to support agriculture and the collective economy. They also stipulated that all industrial departments must resolutely gear their own work toward taking agriculture as the foundation. At that time Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee made explicit policy decisions on gradually setting up an adequate industrial system to serve agricultural production, systematically increasing the ratio of agricultural investments in the overall investments of economic construction, stabilizing the tax on agriculture and the amount of grain purchased by the state in a given period of time, caring for the real interests of peasants on the question of prices based on the principle of exchange at equal value, and slowly fixing a reasonable price ratio between industrial and agricultural products. These policies and principles are entirely correct. If there had been no interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four," and if these policies and principles had been resolutely followed, there certainly would have been a greater development of China's agricultural production, and the picture would be different. Now, with the toppling of the "gang of four," we can kick away the stumbling blocks to implementing the party's policies and principles. We must be resolute, consciously adhere to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and resolutely implement the party's various economic policies for the countryside, so that there will be a more rapid development in China's socialist agriculture and the tempo of advance will be more rapid than in the previous 28 years.

We must implement the policy of taking food grain as the key link to insure all-round development, try to become self-sufficient in grain and obtain grain reserves as quickly as possible, and develop agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline productions and fishery in an all-round manner.

We must make overall plans, carry out farmland capital construction in a big way, and basically change the conditions of agricultural production in China.

We must basically realize agricultural mechanization by 1980 and, on this basis, gradually realize the modernization of agriculture.

We must energetically develop commune- and brigade-run enterprises and local industries and strengthen support of agriculture in the way of funds, materials and technical forces.

We must enable the work of every trade and profession to be shifted into the orbit of taking agriculture as the foundation, geared to the needs of agriculture and placed in the service of agricultural development.

We must solve the problem of placing unreasonable burdens on the peasants, so that peasants' incomes will increase yearly, and we must continue to improve the livelihood of commune members.

In short, we must use every means to push agriculture forward as quickly as possible.

In discussions at this Conference on Farmland Capital Construction, a question of understanding was also reflected. Some comrades held that only agricultural mechanization and scientific farming are needed to push agriculture forward; they seemed to think that there is no need to waste so much effort on farmland capital construction. This question must also be resolved.

Carrying out farmland construction in a big way is a fundamental measure for developing our country's agricultural production and realizing the modernization of agriculture; it is also an important part of learning from Tachai in agriculture. At the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, Chairman Hua instructed us: "It is necessary to understand farmland capital construction as a great socialist task." The reason we stress the carrying out of farmland capital construction in a big way is that we are proceeding from the objective conditions of our country's agriculture and from the practical experience gained by learning from Tachai in agriculture over the years.

Our country has a huge population and little land and is frequently beset by drought, floods, disasters and insect pests. We must make great efforts to improve soil and water conservancy conditions and strengthen our ability to withstand calamities, and we must make an issue of intensive, meticulous cultivation, increased per-unit yield and guaranteed, high and stable yields. Chairman Mao long ago said: "In my opinion, China must depend on intensive cultivation to feed itself. One day China will become the world's number one high-yield country." ("Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution") In the past 28 years, China's agricultural production under the condition of basic reliance on manual labor has increased total grain output by one and a half times; very great development has also occurred with various economic crops. One important experience we have learned is that, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line,

we must rely mainly on the strength of the collective economy, carry out farmland capital construction in a big way, transform the features of the landscape, strengthen our ability to withstand natural disasters and raise per-unit yields. If our farmland capital construction and water conservancy construction had not reached such great magnitudes, our many irrigated areas had not been increased, our many low-lying, waterlogged areas had not been restored and our country's many terraced fields had not been built, it would have been impossible for our agriculture to have achieved its present level, and we would not have been able to support one-fifth of the world's population on just 7 percent of the world's cultivable land.

Some people say: Some countries in Europe and America do not carry out farmland capital construction in a big way like we do, but aren't they also enjoying very high grain outputs? This question must be analyzed concretely. The countries they mention are generally sparsely populated and have better natural conditions. In addition, they have machinery and practice scientific farming. Though their per-capita output of grain is very high, their per-unit yield is not. However, some of the densely populated countries with very high per-unit yields have also done a great deal of work in farmland capital construction. At present the ability of our country's agriculture to withstand natural disasters is very poor, the threat from drought, flood, disaster and insect pests is still serious, the per-unit yield is neither high nor stable and per-capita output lags far behind advanced world levels. In order to fundamentally change this condition, while actively carrying out agricultural mechanization and scientific farming we must simultaneously carry out large-scale farmland capital construction and create conditions for better bringing into play the efficacious results of using machinery, chemical fertilizer and scientific cultivation. Our goal is, by 1985, to build 800 million mou of high and stable-yield fields guaranteed against drought and flood, increase the irrigated area to 950 million mou, and, at the same time, intensively increase cultivable areas. When these targets are achieved, we will be assured of producing 800 billion catties of grain. Further advance toward modernization of agriculture will also create a better foundation.

In order to push agriculture forward as quickly as possible, it is necessary at present to vigorously implement the various policies of the party and improve the workstyle of the cadres.

Recently the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua successively transmitted a "Report on Conscientiously Implementing Party Policies and Reducing the Peasants' Unreasonable Burdens" from the Hsianghsiang County CCP Committee, Hunan Province, and an "Investigation Report on the Problem of a Small Number of Cadres in Hsun-i County Guilty of Commandism and Violations of Law and Discipline" from the Shensi Provincial CCP Committee. It also issued important instructions. This not only has profoundly educated cadres at various levels but also has provided the peasants with

a powerful weapon enabling them to stand against things that are wrong and, thereby, safeguard the agricultural base.

These two documents are warmly supported by the masses of cadres and people. However, some cadres are afraid--afraid of making the mistakes of equalitarianism, indiscriminate requisitioning and commandism as they carry out large-scale farmland capital construction. These comrades, who never considered problems of policy and workstyle before, can now use their brains to consider such problems. This is an improvement. Is it good to be a bit afraid of such things as equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisitioning, violations of law and discipline and commandism? It is. This is a sign of increased awareness. However, we must not set implementation of policies and improvement of workstyle against going all out, as though the very mention of implementing policies and improving workstyle automatically negates going all out. There is still a lack of correct understanding regarding the spiritual essence of the document of the CCP Central Committee.

All our cadres must understand that if we want to push agriculture forward, in the final analysis we still must rely on the masses of peasants and people. The most important thing is how to fully bring into play the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants. This is the policy to which we must pay attention. We must use the long-range ideal of communism to inspire and educate the masses so that they will be able to see their long-range interests. At the same time we must also let the masses see immediate interests so that they will actually appreciate the superiority of the socialist system. The policy of the party precisely embodies the long-range interests as well as the immediate interests of the proletariat and masses of working people; it embodies the aim of the party in serving the people. At present the most vital elements in implementing the economic policy of the party for the countryside are: First, to genuinely implement the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work," guaranteeing more pay for more work and opposing equalitarianism, and, second, to persist in exchange at equal value based on voluntary mutual interests, to use every means to solve the problem of unreasonable burdens for the peasants, to guarantee increased income for increased production and to make cash payments. These two conditions combine the long-range interests of the masses with their immediate interests; because of this, we can bring into full play the immense power of the policy.

Chairman Mao patiently taught us: "Policy and tactics are the life of the party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never, on any account, be negligent." ("On Setting Up a System of Reports") For a long time Lin Piao and the "gang of four" energetically pushed a fake-left, real-right line and vilified implementation of party policy as "strengthening bourgeois rights," "helping the growth of the spontaneous force of capitalism" and "restoring capitalism." They confused people's minds, undermined party policies and caused unprecedented

disaster to the undertakings of the party. Under the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," the mass and policy concepts of some of our comrades were weakened, and they thought less in terms of the peasants. In many places the phenomenon of "all trades and professions stretching out their hands to the production brigade for things, and every sector undermining the foundation of the production brigade" appeared. This increased the burdens of the peasants and dampened their socialist enthusiasm. For the sake of implementing the policies of the party, we must thoroughly expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four," criticize their fake-left, real-right line, distinguish between socialism and capitalism and between the correct and incorrect, and clarify right and wrong which was confused by the "gang of four."

The relationship between our party cadres and the masses is one between fish and water---the cadres cannot be separated from the masses for even a single moment. The cadres must try to improve their workstyle and bring into play the fine traditions of the party, such as seeking truth from facts and adhering to the mass line. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" actively opposed giving play to the party's fine traditions and workstyle. Influenced by the counterrevolutionary revisionist fallacies spread by them, some cadres had many mistaken ideas and methods with regard to such problems as the philosophy of struggle, the dictatorship of the masses and the transformation of small production. In recent years some people gradually lost the fine traditions of the party, exhibited such improper styles as bureaucraticism, commandism, formalism and hedonism, used their positions and authority for selfish ends, and became seriously divorced from the masses. A small number of people even degenerated to the extent of flouting law and discipline, wantonly beating people and lording and riding roughshod over them. Such problems are not limited to Hsün-i County alone but exist all over the country. In this situation, how can the enthusiasm of the masses be brought into play? How can socialist agriculture be run properly?

In going all out for socialism we must seek truth from facts and pay attention to actual results. From where do methods that correspond with reality come? They come only from the masses and practice. This requires that our cadres cultivate the fine style of linking theory with practice, forging close ties with the masses and making thorough investigations and study. They must pay attention to actual results and not go in for formalism. Everything they do must proceed from reality; they must not practice subjectivism. One is one and two is two, and they must not tell lies. They must organize production scientifically, in a manner suited to local conditions, and must not give orders blindly. They must respect the rights of the production brigade to make its own decisions and the rights of the commune to conduct its own affairs, and they must run the commune democratically. They must show concern for the livelihood of the masses and pay attention to their work. The greater the enthusiasm of the masses for work, the more we must show concern for them, do careful

ideological work, solve their actual problems, pay attention to combining labor with rest, and achieve safety in production. In this way, the more the masses work, the greater will be their zeal and the more efficient will be their work.

The question of workstyle is always linked with the question of policy. If workstyle is not right, we will not understand the conditions at the lower levels and could easily disregard the policy of the party or infringe upon the interests of the peasants. If policy is not right, it will be opposed by the masses and could easily lead to commandism. The question of policy and the question of workstyle are, in the final analysis, questions of world outlook--whether or not we want to safeguard the interests of the masses, respect their creative spirit and adhere to a Marxist mass concept. For this reason, in order to solve the question of policy and workstyle, cadres must constantly pay attention to remolding their world outlook, establish the thought of serving the people wholeheartedly and always appear among the people with the attitude of a common laborer.

To push agriculture forward as quickly as possible, the most fundamental thing is to persist in learning from Tachai in agriculture. In his work report delivered at the Fifth National People's Congress, Chairman Hua pointed out the necessity of quickly correcting the phenomenon of paying lipservice to learning from Tachai but making no earnest effort, or making halfhearted or even false efforts. Even now the problem is not resolved in all localities.

We are now advancing toward modernization of agriculture. This requires that we further increase our understanding of the significance of learning from Tachai in agriculture. The modernization we want is socialist modernization. We must place politics in command of science and technology and revolutionization. In the advance toward modernization of agriculture, we must always adhere to the party's basic line and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Tachai is precisely this kind of glorious model. To realize socialist modernization of agriculture, we cannot be divorced from this fundamental orientation--learning from Tachai in agriculture--for even a single moment. If divorced, we will end up on the wrong track.

At present, upon seeing some of the problems appearing in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, some comrades are beginning to have doubts about this fundamental orientation and are starting to vacillate. This is entirely wrong. For many years under the banner of learning from Tachai in agriculture, millions of cadres, party members and poor and lower-middle peasants, by giving play to the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, have transformed the features of our landscape in a big way, worked hard and resourcefully, overcome serious difficulties caused by natural calamities and the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and

the "gang of four," and promoted the growth of agricultural production. It is precisely because many high-yield counties, communes and production brigades sincerely and honestly learned from Tachai that they have been able to achieve such delightful results. These Tachai-type models or advanced units in learning from Tachai have all proved that the experience of Tachai is correct and that the achievements in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture are enormous. This is the mainstream of the movement. As for problems in the movement, they are mainly due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In some places the standards of Tachai-type counties were lowered, and achievements and output were falsified. In others, bad people wormed themselves into the leading bodies of advanced units in learning from Tachai, and false Tachai-type counties run by the "gang of four" appeared. However, these are only tributaries of the movement; we must pay attention to solving problems in the mainstream. However, we must distinguish between the mainstream and the tributaries and firmly grasp and cling to the orientation of the mainstream. We must firmly and unswervingly push forward the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture and, in accordance with the demand put forward by Chairman Hua at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, systematically fulfill the glorious task of building Tachai-type counties.

In learning from Tachai we must learn the basic experience of Tachai. This means that, in the manner of Tachai, we must put proletarian politics in command, place Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, and maintain the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and the communist style of loving the country and the collective.

In the manner of Tachai, we must energetically criticize revisionism and capitalism, go all out for socialism, continue to strengthen the revolutionization of leading bodies, and persist in arming the peasants with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Learning from the experience of Tachai must be carried out in conjunction with actual local conditions. Our country is vast, and conditions vary from place to place. We certainly cannot arbitrarily transplant certain concrete methods of Tachai without taking actual conditions into consideration, but must pay attention to actual results in a manner suitable to local conditions. Otherwise, it will be very easy to go astray.

The several problems in understanding described above are those requiring solution at the moment. If the thinking of leading members is properly solved, this can educate and set an example for the masses of cadres and people, and the line, policies and principles of the party will be better implemented. The line of the 11th CCP Congress is that of Marxism-Leninism. The orientation is now clear, and plans have been made. So long as the idea is right and the measures are effective, the enthusiasm and creativity of the millions of people will be brought fully into play. We are completely confident of pushing agriculture forward as quickly as possible, realizing the modernization of agriculture and making greater contributions to speeding up the great goal of realizing the four modernizations.

## A GREAT SOCIALIST UNDERTAKING

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[Article by Pai Ju-ping, first secretary of the Shantung Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] Under the concern of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, the State Council recently called a National Farmland Capital Construction Conference. This was a promotion meeting to vigorously develop farmland capital construction and a mobilization meeting to accelerate agricultural development. Under the impetus of this meeting, we will surely whip up a new upsurge in farmland capital construction. Chairman Hua clearly told us long ago: "We must take farmland capital construction as a great socialist undertaking." In keeping with the spirit of the conference, we must further study Chairman Hua's important instructions, carry out still better farmland capital construction as a great socialist undertaking, and quicken the pace of realizing socialist modernization. This is a very important task confronting us.

### I

Farmland capital construction is basic to agricultural development. Proper farmland capital construction plays an extremely important role in raising agricultural output, quickening the pace of agricultural modernization, eliminating the vestiges of small production and expanding the collective economy of people's communes. This is an important aspect of the rural area's effort to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Large-scale farmland capital construction enables us to basically change production conditions and to achieve high and steady yields in agriculture. Shantung Province has a large population in a small area. Its natural conditions are poor, and its agricultural production is backward. The cultivated area is mostly hilly or on saline and alkaline low-lying land. It has traditionally been prone to drought and floods. Before

1970 I set up certain basic farmland facilities. This had a positive effect on agricultural production. But because not enough facilities were set up and the ones that were established had low standards, each person averaged only 0.2 mou or so of land which was immune from the effects of drought and floods or could produce high, stable yields. The people were poorly equipped to resist drought and floods. They had always lived on imported grain, because their own output was small and unsteady. Experiences and lessons gained over many years have made us realize that to correct such a situation we must exert great efforts to change production conditions. We must create fields which are immune from the effects of drought and floods or can produce high, stable yields. We must give intense care and attention to farming and raise per-mou output. Land is the most basic means of production in agriculture. Chairman Mao said: With land, we have grain. He added: "Irrigation facilities are the lifeblood of agriculture." This requires us to concentrate on transforming the soil and building irrigation facilities. With the construction of proper farmland facilities, we can have grain. Before 1970 our province's total grain output never reached 30 billion catties. It exceeded 30 billion catties in 1971 and 40 billion catties in 1975. It has remained steadily at the level of 40-odd billion catties over the past 2 years despite serious drought. Grain output over the past years is attributable chiefly to the construction of certain basic farmland facilities.

To realize agricultural mechanization and electrification based on agricultural collectivization is our party's basic line in agriculture. If farmland capital construction is properly carried out, we can create favorable conditions for agricultural modernization. By taking such measures as improving soil, building irrigation facilities, making comprehensive arrangements for mountains, streams, fields, forests and roads, carrying out earthworks, linking irrigation facilities to establish irrigation systems, turning small plots into large ones and "bad fields" into "good fields," we can make mechanization and chemical fertilizers produce the expected results. If such efforts are not made, all talk about agricultural modernization will be just nonsense! This is because, if proper preparations are not made, we cannot make proper use of tractors, use chemical fertilizers effectively or obtain good crops from fine-seed strains. It should especially be noted that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Industrial production, the building of national defense projects and the pace of development of science and technology, in the final analysis, depend on the food, raw materials and labor supplied by agriculture. Only by carrying out farmland capital construction in a big way can we establish a solid agricultural foundation and insure the realization of the four modernizations.

Large-scale farmland capital construction is also an important measure for changing the old features and habits left over from small production and for triumphing over rural capitalist forces. Agricultural collectivization has played a decisive role in changing small-production ideas and habits among the peasants. But, due to our very low productivity and

lack of large-scale production, the land features and manual work conditions have not been basically changed. People have still not been thoroughly freed from the bonds of small-production ideas and habits. To thoroughly do away with these old ideas and habits, we must instill socialist ideas in the peasants and conduct education on the party's basic line. Only by developing socialist mass agriculture and eliminating the vestiges of small production can socialist thinking be deeply implanted in the peasants' minds. In the past, certain areas of our province only gave lipservice to criticism of capitalism. They issued annual calls for sending laborers to the teams and vehicles to the fields. Yet the laborers were sent only to leave almost immediately. The vehicles also left right away, because their drivers operated independently. Capitalist tendencies could not always be stopped. The masses said: "If we just give lipservice to criticism and take no action, things will remain as they are." Now, with farmland capital construction being carried out on a large scale, things have changed. In a struggle in Tsouhsi, the authorities of the Chining area successively sent back over 4,600 laborers who had gone to other areas and over 15,000 vehicles whose drivers had operated independently. They also assembled more than 4,700 carpenters who had been scattered everywhere--carpenters working on their own. This effectively stopped the drift of laborers to other areas and the independent operation of vehicles. In the course of carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction, the peasant masses realized the superiority of the socialist system and the bright prospects of socialist agriculture and enjoyed the material results of this large-scale farmland capital construction. Thus, their collectivist concept and organizational discipline were considerably strengthened. They became more resolute in following the socialist road. With this raising of the peasant masses' socialist consciousness and the development of agricultural production, the system of collective ownership can be further strengthened and the worker-peasant alliance further consolidated.

Should we carry out farmland capital construction on a large scale, change agricultural production conditions and realize agricultural modernization? This is a problem which has aroused a heated, complicated struggle. Chairman Hua's call for mobilizing the whole party to vigorously develop agriculture and take farmland capital construction as a great socialist undertaking was put forward in the midst of the struggle between the two classes and two roads. As early as 1957 Chairman Mao called on us to "reform China in the same way as the foolish old man who removed the mountains." In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call to "learn from Tachai in agriculture." The agricultural conference of northern China, held by the party Central Committee in 1970, further demanded that backward features be changed within 3 to 5 years, in the manner of Hsiyang, and that agricultural production be developed. The masses of cadres enthusiastically responded to the call of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and eagerly demanded that we work in a big way. But this suffered from serious interference and sabotage from the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. The Lin Piao antiparty

clique used their counterrevolutionary "politics" to smash production and "smash everything else." The "gang of four" carried things a step further in a vain attempt to bring down the red banner of Tachai. They smeared building socialism in a big way as "the theory of productive forces" and "suppressing revolution with production." They set forth typical examples of practicing deception. They rabidly sabotaged the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. To counter Lin Piao and the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, Chairman Hua recounted at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture the basic experiences of Tachai and fully affirmed the socialist direction in carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction. At this conference, Vice Chairman Teng sharply pointed out that, in learning from Tachai, we must solve the problem of learning sincerely or insincerely. He called on us to "work honestly and faithfully."

Chairman Hua's report and Vice Chairman Teng's speech dealt a telling blow to the then vociferous "gang of four." The "gang of four" were shamed into a rage. They hysterically slandered and attacked Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng. This showed precisely that they had been hit where it hurt. Inspired by the spirit of the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, the masses of cadres of our province waged a resolute struggle against the "gang of four" and their backbone confederates in Shantung. They righteously carried out farmland capital construction in a big way. In 3 years the irrigated area was expanded by 15 million mou. Eleven million mou of high and steady-yield fields were created. Practice has made us realize that, in carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction, we must grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," thoroughly smash the various spiritual shackles imposed by them, thoroughly expose their plot to undermine the economic foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and expose their reactionary nature. Only in this way can we continuously deepen our understanding of the great significance of large-scale farmland capital construction and, like Tachai and Hsiyang, consciously adhere to the party's fundamental line in agriculture, develop agriculture with the highest possible speed and consolidate and strengthen the material foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## II

The organizational form used in the coordination battle in farmland capital construction should be that which gives fullest play to the superiority of the socialist system and the might of the people's war and helps achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in carrying out this farmland capital construction.

The coordination battle in our province's farmland capital construction generally assumes three forms: 1) Unified plans are made by the commune, with construction work being organized by the brigade. This form has

such features as not allowing laborers to leave the team, handing out no money or grain as allowances, and making proper arrangements for people's livelihood. Such a method accounts for about 30 percent of the province's total number of workers devoted to farmland capital construction. 2) Unified plans are made by the prefecture and county. With the commune as the basic unit, various brigades coordinate their work within the framework of the commune. This form accounts for about 50 percent of the total number of workers. 3) The prefecture and county transfer laborers to launch a mass coordination battle. This method accounts for 20 percent of the total number of workers. At present these three forms are being enforced simultaneously, with main emphasis on the first two. These forms complement each other. Certain production teams and brigades also launch small projects on their own. Why should a coordination battle be fought in carrying out farmland capital construction? This battle is dictated by the contradiction between the inherent ties linking mountains, rivers, streams, fields and other natural conditions on the one hand and their ownership on the other, and by the need to make even larger comprehensive arrangements for mountains, streams, fields, forests and roads. If we control fields without controlling floods, we cannot overcome the natural disasters of drought and floods. If we control streams without controlling mountains, we cannot protect streams and fields. It will not do to just control the lower slopes of a mountain without controlling the higher slopes. Nor will it do to just control the upper reaches of a river without controlling the lower ones. In other words, we cannot take control measures independent of other factors. The transformation of soil and control of streams are restricted by seasonal factors. Certain irrigation projects, in particular, must be completed quickly before the season of rising tides. Certain projects, if assigned to just one unit, are likely to be held up. They may even never be completed. Therefore, to make unified plans for mountain ranges and valleys and take comprehensive control measures, we must fight a coordinated battle that cuts across boundaries and communes and even between communes and counties.

A chief advantage of the coordination battle is that productivity can be raised. By coordination, we mean many laborers doing combined labor according to the same plan in the same production process or in different but related production processes. On the benefits of coordination, Marx pointed out that such "combined labor" not only "raises an individual's output but also creates a kind of productivity that in itself is naturally collective strength." ("The Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 362) Meanwhile, farmland capital construction in the form of a coordination battle allows the concentration of manpower, materials and funds, the scientific division of labor to meet the demands of specialization, and the combination of a professional team with the mass movement, so that the might of the collective is called into full play. The professional team is a backbone force or a technical force in farmland capital construction. Its members prepare stone and other materials and make battle plans. In the battle they undertake to repair culverts and do other highly technical and relatively difficult jobs. After the

battle they give the finishing touches to projects and link them up to complete the system. The combination of the professional team with the mass movement means a well-organized, well-led people's war. This enables us to fight a war of annihilation and bring the war to a quick end, as projects covering an area of several li or several tens of li or even large-scale projects can be launched simultaneously. In this way, ridges, mountains, rivers and valleys can be brought under control, one by one.

Chairman Hua pointed out: "Where farmland capital construction is marked with great achievements, the people's commune can fully demonstrate its superiority as a comprehensive and public setup." The establishment of the socialist system has engendered bright prospects for the development of productivity.

Great possibilities exist for us in organizing a coordination battle. To carry out farmland capital construction in the form of a coordination battle is to give full play to the superiority of the people's commune as a comprehensive and public setup. We must consciously use the objective law that advanced relations of production stimulate the development of productivity to serve socialist construction. If we remain satisfied with the established socialist system instead of actively giving play to its superiority and energetically leading the masses to build a great socialist enterprise and create more material wealth, then the superiority of the socialist system cannot be demonstrated. Thus, this system in itself cannot be consolidated and developed.

In organizing a farmland capital construction coordination battle, we often hear people say: "It is fine to work in a big way. But we are too poor to do so." Here the problem of the relationship between poverty and work is raised. The reason for the poverty of certain areas is chiefly that they have not started to work in a big way. For many years their mountains and rivers have looked the same. Chairman Mao said: "Poverty gives rise to a desire for change. We must act and make revolution." In fact, the poorer the area, the stronger the mass demand for changing the backward features. The masses say: "We would rather work hard than be poverty-stricken." Of course, working in a big way calls for grain, money and material supplies. Those poverty-stricken areas may encounter greater difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies. But as a Chinese saying goes: "With everyone joining to collect firewood, a fire can burn briskly." What cannot be done by one person alone can be done with everyone working together. Farmland capital construction is different from industrial capital construction. The former chiefly involves the moving of earth and stone. One may work with his own two hands or with simple tools if there is a shortage of machinery, equipment or funds. We must act in accordance with Chairman Hua's instructions requiring us to overcome poverty by working hard and ingeniously and carry forward the spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance. So long as we concentrate limited manpower and financial and material resources on

given pieces of land from year to year and combine hard work with ingenious work, we can bring about great changes in production conditions. Everyone will become increasingly prosperous. Shortages of funds or materials can also be overcome by developing a diversified economy and building commune- and brigade-level enterprises. Certain types of help may be obtained from the state.

Aren't Tachai and Hsiyang shining examples for us in overcoming poverty and achieving prosperity by combining hard and ingenious work? Tungping County of our province is traditionally known as a disaster-prone, low-yield area. People used to say that "in Tungping, nothing is harvested in 9 out of 10 years." In this county, large-scale farmland capital construction was started in the winter of 1975. In 3 years the total additional and improved irrigated area was 250,000 mou. Meanwhile, 507,000 mou of land was cultivated and the soil improved. Compared with the relatively good year of 1975, per-mou output in 1977 showed an increase of 195 catties, and total output showed an increase of over 90 million catties. A relatively big change was brought about in the poor, backward features of the county. Many facts show that, for poor and backward areas, large-scale capital farmland construction is not only necessary but possible.

With a large force mobilized in a coordination battle, it is very important to exercise strict organizational leadership and introduce scientific labor management. If we fail to pay attention to this point, we will end up with wasted labor. Experiences of many areas in organizing these battles tell us that we must establish a powerful, on-the-spot command. Before work starts we must make proper construction plans, obtain required funds and materials and organize the work team well. In the course of the battle we must make labor plans scientifically, set quotas for management and pay according to labor. Meanwhile, we must energetically effect technical innovation, improve work tools and promote mechanization and semimechanization on the largest possible scale.

Thus, labor productivity can be raised considerably. Coordination means that productivity can be raised. But this does not mean that the more people involved in the battle, the better, and the more time involved, the better. Experience shows that we must devise ways and means to raise productivity, properly control the labor forces thrown into the battle and the length of the battle, and minimize the number of laborers transferred from teams. The number of people in the battle and the time devoted to it must both be guided by the principle of taking seasonal factors into consideration and aiming toward higher current-year production.

### III

Adherence to the principle of exchange at equal value and serious implementation of the policy of willingness and mutual benefit are important

guarantees of giving full play to mass enthusiasm and fighting well the coordination battle in farmland capital construction.

With farmland capital construction growing beyond boundaries that separate brigades, communes and counties, various collective-ownership units will naturally have problems concerning amounts of investment, labor committed, benefits due, the order in which people get returns on their investments, claims that should or should not be made, and so forth. In coping with these problems we must follow the principles of exchange at equal value and of willingness and mutual benefit, so that various units can get proper returns on the amount of labor and investment committed within a stipulated period of time and so that everyone can benefit. Only by firmly carrying out the policies of exchange at equal value and of willingness and mutual benefit can we maintain the people's enthusiasm for working in a big way and continue the coordination battle. If we run counter to this, we will be guilty of "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisitioning." This means appropriating the fruits of others' labor. Committing such an error means that coordination would not last long. Productivity would also suffer.

The policy of mutual benefit, as applied to the coordination battle in our province, is being properly carried out in certain areas. But it is not being carried out well enough in a small number of areas. Even the phenomenon of "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisitioning" has appeared there. Concerning problems in this respect, we are making further investigations and studies, summing up experiences and seeking solutions. The experience of those areas where the policy of mutual benefit is being carried out relatively well shows that we should chiefly adopt this approach: 1) "We work for you this year and you work for us next year. Labor is exchanged with labor. Settlement is made every few years." In assigning tasks we should demand labor in proportion to the benefits to be obtained and try our best not to transfer labor forces that will not benefit. In making project plans we should insure that we take turns in assuming responsibility. In exchanging labor for labor we must take good care of the interests of those units which will not benefit or receive little benefit. We may have county- and commune-level professional teams help these units work on projects that can produce results the same year. We may also give them proper help with regard to machinery, chemical fertilizers, funds and the development of a diversified economy. Or we may give them special consideration with regard to labor required for large-scale, state projects. 2) We should shorten the benefit-yield cycle as much as possible. In formulating plans and organizing construction work we must make a point of doing the easiest tasks first and the more difficult later, or "eating the flesh first, then gnawing at the bone." We must concentrate forces on a war of annihilation and try to avoid or scale down projects that take more than 1 year. We must strive to make as many people benefit as possible.

In properly carrying out the policy of mutual benefit we must pay attention to strengthening political and ideological work and guiding the masses of cadres in understanding the collective, taking the whole situation into consideration and developing a communist style. If we are always obsessed with narrow personal interests, then we can get nothing done.

Proper implementation of the mutual-benefit policy affects the interests of every unit and each individual involved in the battle. This is a very delicate job. We must take it seriously. We can never put the exertion of great efforts in opposition to implementation of policy. Nor can we fail to seriously solve those problems confronting a small number of units that do not benefit, just because most of the units do benefit. If these units which do not benefit are forced to contribute money and grain for several consecutive years, this would add to their burden and eat into their own income. Thus, a prosperous team would be reduced to poverty, and a poor team would be brought to the verge of financial ruin. They just would have no interest in joining any battle. Our party's policy is to promote the welfare of all the people. Failure to carry out the mutual-benefit policy properly would impair the interests of certain sections of people. This would be tantamount to equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisitioning and would manifest a lack of a mass view. If we really want to carry out large-scale farmland capital construction and expedite the modernization of agriculture, we must show a high sense of responsibility toward the party and people, resolutely carry out the party's mutual-benefit policy, make overall arrangements and seriously check each unit to see whether or not this policy is being properly carried out.

The "gang of four" purposely confused the two different social systems--socialist and capitalist--slandered the principle of exchange at equal value, slandered the socialist system as "soil giving rise to capitalism and the bourgeoisie" and attacked the proper implementation of the rural economic policy as "restoration of capitalism." In fact, they advocated a rapacious policy of seizing, without compensation, the fruits of the peasants' labor, under the banner of revolution. Such fake-left, real-right perverted measures left many rural cadres confused. The socialist enthusiasm of the masses of cadres was seriously dampened. The development of productivity suffered. To properly carry out the policies of willingness and mutual benefit and exchange at equal value, we must penetratingly expose and criticize these fallacies and crimes of the "gang of four," eliminate their remnant poison and influence, and raise our consciousness in carrying out the party's policies.

#### IV

Capital farmland construction is a great revolutionary movement involving millions upon millions of people in transforming the features of mountains

and rivers. The key to victory in this movement lies in "overall planning and strengthened leadership."

Planning for farmland capital construction is a problem which affects the pace of agricultural development and its direction and line. Proper planning can bring double the results with half the work. Improper planning will lead to a high degree of blindness, so that half the results are achieved for double the work; a project might even end up as a boondoggle. We have had many lessons in this respect. In formulating plans, the most important thing is to take reality into consideration and pinpoint the target of attack. Natural conditions vary with different areas and must be controlled with regional features in mind. We cannot apply the same set formula in every case. Meanwhile, we must keep increased output and increased income always in mind. We must take into consideration not only the needs of a soil-transformation or water-control project itself, but also the burden placed on the peasants and possible financial aid from the state. We must properly handle the relationships between accumulated funds and expenditures and between immediate and long-term interests. In applying finishing touches to newly built projects and projects to be linked up in a complete system, we must give priority to the latter so that, once work on a field is completed, it can be brought under irrigation.

In other words, in formulating and carrying out plans we must stress actual results and not do things as a matter of form. This requires that the chief responsible person of the party committee take personal charge. He must join the professional team in making penetrating investigations and studies and reviewing all matters. On this basis he must put forward an initial program for controlling mountains, water, fields, forests and roads. Such a program must be subjected to mass discussion, so that democracy can be fully developed and mass wisdom can be drawn upon to bring the program in line with objective realities. Certain areas have prepared three diagrams--one of the mountains and rivers in their present state, one projecting the future and one showing construction projects now underway. This has played a very helpful role in mobilizing and organizing the masses. Concerning construction projects to be completed before the end of a year, we must make early preparations so that production will not suffer.

The leading group's work enthusiasm and style are of unusually great significance in such a great undertaking as farmland capital construction. Large-scale farmland capital construction calls for the exertion of great efforts on our part. When assigned to an area by the party and people, we in leadership posts are dutybound to take good care of this area and to try to change its backward features as quickly as possible. This will contribute to the people's welfare and the state's prosperity and will benefit our descendants. If we shut our eyes to the more or less unchanged features of our local mountains and rivers and turn a deaf ear to the masses' urgent demand for changing production conditions, we

should be ashamed. In certain areas, leading cadres have shown great determination, keen enthusiasm and a good style in the movement to learn from Tachai. They have set personal examples by living in huts and sleeping on the floor. They have led the masses of cadres in bringing about relatively great changes in the natural features of these areas. Relatively great progress has been achieved in agriculture. On the other hand, certain leading cadres are weak in purpose and afraid of hardship and tiring work. They always consider this or that impossible and are slow to learn from Tachai. The masses have said: "We do not worry about changing natural features. All we fear is that no one will lead us in doing the job." This is sharp criticism of some of our comrades. Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war." Farmland capital construction calls for the display of such vigor.

In carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction we will encounter a large number of ideological and actual problems. In coping with these problems we must promote democracy and adhere to the down-to-earth, mass-line style. In all matters we must make investigations and studies, consult with the cadres and the masses and enthusiastically do conscientious political and ideological work. If we are dogmatic and impose orders on others, we will only bungle things. What is worth noting is that Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line has influenced the ideological style of certain cadres. Such erroneous tendencies and bad styles as being alienated from reality and the masses, acting freely according to one's subjective wish, exhibiting formalism, telling lies, giving commands blindly, imposing orders, defying the law, disobeying discipline, and so forth, are basically the results of the "gang of four's" interference and remnant poison. To insure the healthy and sustained development of the mass movement for farmland capital construction, we must combine the struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four" with a serious effort to ideologically rectify and organizationally consolidate the leading groups at various levels. With the leading groups' ranks purified and their ideological style set straight, we can achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in farmland capital construction and stimulate the rapid development of agricultural production.

How to fundamentally change the natural features of our province to meet the demands of agricultural modernization and how to make certain backward areas in our province catch up quickly--these remain very complicated, arduous tasks which require that we study hard in practice, continuously sum up experiences and persevere in struggle. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is greatly concerned about the development of the socialist undertakings in our province. Leading comrades of the party Central Committee have come to our province many times to check up on our work. They have helped us to sum up experiences

and overcome shortcomings. They have greatly educated and inspired us. Guided by the line of the 11th national party congress, we must grasp the key link in running the country well, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and launch the three major revolutionary movements. We are confident that, by doing so, we can bring about great progress in our socialist agriculture and that the general task for the new period can be achieved quickly.

## IT IS IMPERATIVE TO PUT AGRICULTURE IN THE FIRST POSITION

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[Article by Chiao Hsiao-kuang, first secretary of the CCP Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region]

[Text] The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and is leading the people of the whole country on a new Long March. On this advance of historical significance, seriously studying and practicing Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, adhering to the principle for developing the national economy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and insuring the still more rapid development of agriculture are key issues related to whether the entire national economy can develop in a planned and proportioned way at high speed, whether socialist modernization can be realized at an early date and whether the general task for the new period can be fulfilled smoothly.

Chairman Hua pointed out in his government work report at the Fifth NPC: Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Unless agriculture can be developed more quickly than in the past, industry and the entire national economy cannot be promoted. Even if they are promoted temporarily, they will be dragged down again. When major natural disasters occur, we will encounter still greater difficulties. We must have a clear understanding of this point. In connection with the situation in Kwangsi, we profoundly feel that this issue put forward by Chairman Hua is of major significance and particular urgency. Agriculture and industry in Kwangsi have been developed greatly since liberation. However, the proportion of industry in the region's economy is lower than the national average.

To fundamentally change the backward state of Kwangsi's economy it is necessary to gradually increase the proportion of industry. To develop industry it is essential that agriculture develop at a still higher speed than in the past.

To speed up the development of agriculture we must expose and criticize the various fallacies and crimes of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in sabotaging agricultural production, turn chaos into order, implement the party's economic policies and fully mobilize the socialist activism of the peasants. There are many problems which we still have to solve in this respect. Fundamental problems are those of correctly handling the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and persistently putting agriculture in the first position.

How can we genuinely put agriculture in the first position? After summing up positive and negative experiences, we have acquired the following initial understanding:

1. It is necessary to firmly establish the concept of taking agriculture as the foundation and place the stress of leadership work on agriculture. On the question of how to understand and handle the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, Chairman Mao gave a clear explanation in 1956 in his "On the 10 Major Relationships." However, in the course of practice we have undergone a process of advancing from insufficient understanding to partial understanding and from insufficient awareness to relative awareness. In the initial period after liberation we inherited a poverty-stricken Kwangsi from the Kuomintang reactionaries. The average grain yield was only about 200 catties per mou. Modern industry was practically nonexistent. As a result of the land reform and the agricultural cooperativization movement, and especially as a result of the movement to set up the communes and the Great Leap Forward in the national economy in 1958, there was a relatively great increase in agricultural production and corresponding developments in industry and other work. During the 1959-1961 period of difficulties, agricultural production in the region fell for a time, and grain yields declined to the level of the early 1950's. However, industry and other undertakings continued to develop in a big way, exceeding the limits set by agriculture. This led to very great passivity and compelled us to talk about, produce and grasp grain every day. It was impossible to avoid making certain readjustments in industry and other undertakings.

The facts profoundly taught us that man must eat, and that if there is nothing to eat, nothing can be done. The development of industry and other economic and cultural undertakings are, in the final analysis, decided by how much grain, raw materials, manpower and markets can be provided by agriculture.

At the beginning of the 1960's Chairman Mao further taught that, in developing the national economy, it is necessary to take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. He called on the entire party to run agriculture and produce grain in a big way. We further deepened our understanding of the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation, and our spontaneity in grasping agriculture constantly increased. In particular, since 1969 we have persistently arranged the

national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and shifted the focus of our work to agriculture. As a result, agriculture has developed continuously, the state grain stores have gradually increased and the collectives and the individuals have a certain amount of grain in reserve. This has insured the meeting of the requirements of expansion and reproduction and stimulated the corresponding development of industry and all other undertakings.

Due to the fact that we had grain in reserve, even though in 1975 Kwangsi encountered one of the most serious early autumn cold waves ever recorded, plus the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," causing a decline of 2 billion catties in the late rice crop, we were still able to meet the needs of people, animals and production, and there was no sign of disaster in that year of great disaster. The region also reaped a bumper harvest in 1977, a year of great drought.

Production has increased constantly in light and heavy industry. From 1969 to 1977 the value of agricultural output rose by an average of 5.3 percent annually, while the value of output of light and heavy industry rose by an annual average of 14.7 and 17.3 percent, respectively. Practice has fully proved Chairman Mao's brilliant conclusion: If our agriculture can develop still more extensively and there is a corresponding still greater development in light industry, this will be advantageous to the entire national economy. With the development of agriculture and light industry, there will be markets and investment for heavy industry, which in turn will develop still more rapidly. In this way the speed of industrialization may appear to be a bit slow, but in fact it will not be slow and may even speed up a little. ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

However, it is not very easy to make the leading comrades at all levels and of all departments firmly establish the concept of taking agriculture as the foundation and spontaneously put agriculture in the first position in their actual work. A rather large number of comrades still do not understand the serious nature of the agricultural issue and are far from spontaneous in implementing the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation. Some even take a completely unenlightened approach to the matter. Many comrades acknowledge in principle that agriculture must be put in the first position, but they always forget about this when they undertake some work. Some comrades talk a lot about partial aspects but give little consideration to the overall national economy. They always blindly plan the development of other undertakings without considering the requirements of agricultural production and the possibilities of what agriculture can supply. They only think of competing for manpower, materials and capital for this or that undertaking and fail to consider that all undertakings can only develop faster and better if they are firmly based on the agricultural foundation and if everyone exerts himself to strengthen this foundation.

Some comrades do not understand the difference between the two systems of ownership, do not act in accordance with the law of value and are unable to correctly handle the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual. They even pursue egalitarianism and indiscriminate requisitioning in a big way, stretch out hands to, undermine and squeeze out agriculture from all sides and increase the burdens of the production teams and the peasants. The work of some comrades is directly related to supporting agriculture, but they fail to understand the great political and economic importance of supporting agriculture and do not do everything possible to improve their work, raise the quality of service, strive to lighten the peasants' burdens and truly work for the convenience and benefit of agriculture. On the contrary, they take advantage of the peasants, damage the development of agriculture and turn support for agriculture into damage to agriculture.

Some industrial departments and enterprises pay no attention to improving the quality of products or to reducing production costs. They, too, are actually harming agriculture. Some comrades even violate law and discipline and misappropriate funds for supporting agriculture, using them for such nonproductive construction not covered in the plans as halls, hostels and other buildings.

All this damages the peasants' socialist activism, weakens the agricultural foundation and undermines socialist agriculture.

What is worth noticing is that certain leading comrades responsible for agriculture also lack a sufficient understanding of the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and lack heroic ambitions and actual measures for rapidly promoting agriculture and achieving the modernization of agriculture. They have not grasped agriculture in their own hands.

Hence, we must regularly and repeatedly talk about the issue of putting agriculture in the first position. We must organize the cadres of all levels and all departments to study Chairman Mao's brilliant thought in connection with reality and to sum up positive and negative experiences in order to deepen their understanding. In the annual rectification of the party and of workstyle, we must regard this issue as an important part of examining our thinking and summing up work and ceaselessly solve this problem. When handling certain specific contradictions in actual work, we must do our work in a meticulous way. We must wage the necessary ideological struggle against various erroneous trends. We must carry out the necessary organizational readjustment of a few leadership groups which are neither serious nor effective in grasping agriculture and which have failed to improve despite repeated education. Only by doing continuous work can we firmly establish the concept of taking agriculture as the foundation and truly implement it in action.

To implement the idea of taking agriculture as the foundation, the autonomous regional, prefectural and county CCP committees must all place the emphasis of their leadership work on agriculture. Proceeding from the requirements of developing agriculture, they must strengthen concentrated and unified leadership over all work and harmonize the relations between various aspects. Over the past few years the top men of the region, prefectures and counties have personally grasped major issues related to the development of agriculture and grasped them to the end. From formulating plans and assigning manpower, materials and financial resources to taking specific measures we have worked to insure that the guiding ideology of taking agriculture as the foundation is embodied in our actions and have overcome excessive decentralization and departmentalism. Under the unified leadership of the party committees we have resolutely shifted the work of all departments and trades onto the track of taking agriculture as the foundation and given full play to the important role of the various departments in supporting agriculture. As a result, they have carried out their work while focusing on agriculture and have tangibly served agricultural production.

When formulating plans, checking up on work, looking into problems and summing up experiences, the various departments and trades should all consider whether what they are doing is beneficial to stimulating the development of agricultural production. For instance, the stress of medical and public health work must be placed on the rural areas. Education work must train capable people for agricultural science and technology, medical work and teaching in the rural areas and must raise the peasants' levels of science and technology. Scientific research must concentrate on the needs of agriculture. In finance work it is necessary to directly use in agriculture, in industry which supports agriculture and in basic relevant industries about 70 percent of the flexible financial resources and 90 percent of the foreign exchange in the localities to insure continuous consolidation and development of the agricultural foundation.

To put agriculture in the first position, the leadership at all levels must grasp the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties everywhere as a major matter related to the overall situation and must grasp it persistently and well. The population of rural Kwangsi accounts for nearly 90 percent of the region's total population. Guiding these people along the road of Tachai and giving full play to their socialist activism are closely related to political stability, economic development and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the region.

Learning from Tachai is certainly not just a matter for the agricultural departments. The party committees must personally grasp it, and the various departments must closely coordinate. During the period when the "gang of four" were busily cutting down the red banner of Tachai, we organized the members of the Standing Committee of the regional CCP

committee, the members of the standing committees of party committees at all levels and leading comrades of all departments and trades, not just the agricultural departments, to visit and learn at Tachai and Hsiyang. We continuously solved the problem of whether to learn from Tachai in a genuine or sham way and overcame the concept of some comrades that learning from Tachai was not their concern.

In learning from Tachai it is necessary to learn from Tachai's fundamental experiences, take class struggle as the key link, vigorously criticize revisionism and capitalism, work hard at socialism and simultaneously grasp the three great revolutionary movements. When the "gang of four" were slandering education in the party's basic line as "pointing the spearhead downward" and "the big bourgeoisie criticizing the small bourgeoisie," the leading organs of the region, prefectures, municipalities and counties sent tens of thousands of cadres every year into the rural areas to initially grasp one-third of the work in an area and conduct education in the party's basic line. We adopted the method of coordinating between the towns and villages, the upper and lower levels and inside and outside in striking blows at the sabotage activities of class enemies and at the frenzied assaults of capitalist forces in the urban and rural areas.

During the period when the "gang of four" were attacking the grasping of production as the "theory of productive forces," the poor and lower-middle peasants in the region learned from the Tachai spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, persistently grasped revolution and promoted production and undertook agricultural capital construction in a big way. In 1977 the region's area of farmland capable of yielding good harvests irrespective of flood or drought was 74 percent greater than in 1965, thus stimulating the steady development of agricultural production.

To embody still better in practice the guiding ideology of putting agriculture in first position, leaders at all levels and of all departments must endeavor to familiarize themselves with rural conditions, examine the characteristics of agriculture and proceed from reality in deciding upon the guiding principles for work. We demand that the principal leading comrades of the autonomous region and the leading cadres of the professional departments concerned spend at least 4 months a year conducting investigation and study in the rural areas. Comrades of the prefectures and counties should spend a somewhat longer time in the rural areas.

In implementing the instructions of the upper levels and in learning from the progressive experiences of other places, it is necessary to link them with actual local conditions in the countryside. For instance, in implementing the principle of taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development, the autonomous region acted in the light of Kwangsi's climate and natural conditions and decided to concentrate on developing grain, sugar and oil. Some mountainous counties concentrate

on developing grain, oil and forestry. Some coastal municipalities and towns concentrate on fisheries. Thus, each place brings its favorable conditions into full play, and agriculture better meets the needs of national construction and the people's life.

Regarding farmland capital construction, in view of the region's weak points of poor soil, proneness to drought, lack of manure and low crop yields, we are currently deciding upon the points on which to concentrate in the order of "water conservancy, manure and soil improvement," carrying out coordinated harnessing, overcoming the weak links and changing unfavorable things into favorable ones.

The type of cultivation system to put into effect should also be decided upon in the light of the soil, climate and water conservancy conditions.

Places where the mountains are high, the weather is cold and there is insufficient sunshine are not suitable for popularizing double-crop rice. If we become divorced from reality, do things in a mechanical way and issue blind commands, even though we subjectively want to put agriculture in the first position, the results will always be contrary to what we desire and we will actually adversely affect the development of agriculture.

2. We must run industry by focusing on agriculture and stimulate agriculture by running industry well. When we speak of putting agriculture in the first position, we certainly do not mean developing agriculture in isolation. Industry and agriculture depend on, restrain and stimulate each other. In the wake of the daily development of agriculture toward modernization, more and more equipment and support are required from industry. If we grasp agriculture in isolation without correspondingly developing light and heavy industry, we cannot greatly develop agriculture. In accordance with the general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, we have resolutely shifted the work of the industrial departments onto the track of taking agriculture as the foundation and have developed industry by focusing on the needs of agriculture. We have clearly called for the building of a system of industries to support agriculture so that industry and agriculture can be still more closely combined.

Light industry and agriculture are very closely related. About 75 percent of the raw materials for light industry in Kwangsi comes from agricultural and sideline products. On the basis of developing agriculture, we have persistently based our work on local resources and concentrated light industry work on processing agricultural and sideline products and on making products to support agriculture and for daily use in town and countryside. In this way, agriculture and light industry stimulate each other and develop together. To do this it is necessary to handle well the relationship within agriculture between grain production and diversification.

By developing diversification in the light of local conditions, we can increase the income of the collective economy and stimulate the development of agricultural production. We can also provide abundant raw materials for light industry. A number of light industry production units have gone out of their factories, established contacts with communes, brigades and farms and grasped raw material production bases as their No 1 workshops. A number of finance and trade units have also gone down to the rural areas to help the communes and brigades develop diversification. These actions have stimulated agriculture and also spurred the development of light industry.

In recent years the output of light industrial products in the region has risen constantly, variety has increased and self-sufficiency in products has increased from 25.7 percent in 1965 to 61.7 percent in 1977. This plays a great role in supporting agricultural production, making the urban and rural markets prosperous and improving the people's living standards. The profits on and tax paid by light industry account for about 40 percent of the local financial revenue in the region. This provides capital for developing heavy industry and supporting agriculture.

The fundamental path for agriculture lies in mechanization. To speed up the development of agriculture it is urgently necessary that heavy industry equip agriculture with modern technology. From 1969 to 1974 the region spent 44 percent of its local flexible financial resources on heavy industry. We have twice organized various industrial departments to fight joint battles to solve the problems of iron and steel, coal, electricity, equipment for small chemical fertilizer plants and tractor equipment. On this basis we have organized regular coordination between specialized departments to stimulate the advance of production technology and the increase of labor productivity.

As a result, the region's system of industries which support agriculture has now been initially formed. As compared with 1970, in 1977 the output of medium and small tractors had increased 11.3 times, the area of farmland plowed by machine had increased from 5 to 31 percent, nitrogenous fertilizer output had increased by 600 percent, the output of motive-power machinery for agricultural drainage and irrigation had increased by 144 percent, electricity consumed in drainage and irrigation had increased by 139 percent and the area irrigated by mechanical and electrical pumps had increased by 190 percent.

On the existing foundation, the future development of the region's heavy industry will be arranged in accordance with the demand to basically achieve agricultural mechanization by 1980.

To give full play to the role of industry in supporting agriculture, it is necessary to correctly handle the various relationships within industry to suit the needs of agricultural development. It is necessary both

to insure the key points and also to make all-round arrangements. For instance, to develop industries which support agriculture it is necessary to get a good grasp of the basic industries, persistently take steel as the key link, go all out to develop iron and steel production and correspondingly develop coal and electricity. If we do not do this, support-agriculture industry will be like a meal cooked without rice. Even if its promotion is forced, it cannot give full play to its existing production capacity because of a lack of raw materials, fuel and power.

It is also necessary to do a good job of tapping potentials within the various trades and to fill the gaps in the supply of spare parts in order to give better play to their role in supporting agriculture. In the machine-building industry, while concentrating on producing agricultural machinery it is also necessary to grasp the production of spare parts and accessories such as bearings, standard parts, measuring instruments and other machines and instruments for general purposes. Otherwise, the farm machines cannot be assembled. In producing farm machinery, while grasping the production of main machine bodies it is also necessary to grasp the production of spare parts. Otherwise, no matter how many main machine bodies are built, their role cannot be brought into play.

Only by correctly handling the above-mentioned relationships well can we insure that all industrial production takes support for agriculture as the key point and develops in a planned, proportioned and coordinated way.

In running industry focusing on agriculture it is necessary, under the guidance of the unified state plans and the unified leadership of the autonomous region, to give full play to the activism of the counties, communes and brigades and to develop the five small industries and commune and brigade enterprises in the light of local conditions. Practice has proved that the enterprises run by counties, communes and brigades can develop in the future only if they persistently follow the orientation of supporting agriculture, and only by giving precedence to supporting agriculture can the activism of the counties, communes and brigades in running industry be brought into full play.

We have gained experiences and lessons in how to mobilize the activism of the counties, communes and brigades. For example, take the development of small nitrogenous fertilizer plants. At the start we adopted the method of having the autonomous region assume responsibility for the investment, equipment, workers and allocation of products. The people of the counties did not have the initiative and the regional authorities did not have the time to care for them, with the result that the speed of construction was slow, and some factories still had not begun production after several years. Later we switched to having the counties assume basic responsibility for finding investment funds, building the factories and using the products, while the autonomous region made

unified arrangements for supplying the equipment. Thus, the counties' activism was mobilized and the small chemical fertilizer plants were rapidly built.

The prefectures and counties have raised about two-thirds of the total capital for the equipment in the 73 small nitrogenous fertilizer plants which have already begun production and the 7 currently under construction. Some counties completed the building work in about 2 months and succeeded in putting the plants into operation and reaching designed capacity within 1 year.

The mobilization of the activism of the counties, communes and brigades has had a very stimulating effect on the economy of the whole region. Small hydroelectricity stations accounting for 50 percent of the region's generating capacity are run by counties, communes and brigades themselves. This has a positive effect on rural production and life. A problem worth noting is that with the development of production the five small industries and commune- and brigade-level enterprises all want to effect technical innovations, raise the productivity of labor, improve the quality of products, lower costs, increase accumulated funds and play a better part in supporting agriculture. We must energetically promote the development of commune-level enterprises, adopt various ways to incorporate the supply and sales efforts of commune- and brigade-level enterprises in the state plan and gradually increase their proportion in the commune's three-level economy.

3. There will be a fierce struggle in the future over the problem of whether to protect and augment the collective economy of the people's communes and support the development of agricultural production or to weaken the collective economy and hinder the development of agricultural production. To implement the brilliant thinking of Chairman Mao on putting agriculture in the first position, the central authorities have formulated a number of concrete policies which manifest the support of the state for the collectives and of industry for agriculture. Because Lin Piao and the "gang of four" pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line and practiced being fake left and real right in a big way, the thinking of the people was confused and the economic policies were sabotaged. The resulting effects were serious. Some outstanding manifestations in our region are that some state enterprises, communes and production brigades have indiscriminately transferred and used through various channels the manpower and nonhuman power of production teams. On the pretext of turning losses into profits, some units have even adopted all kinds of tricks to pass losses on to production teams. As a result, they have increased the unreasonable burdens on the peasants. Therefore, some communes and production brigades are unable to increase their incomes even when they increase their production, and they cannot fulfill the distribution. Some localities have not done well in implementing the policy of "to each according to his work," and egalitarian tendencies have emerged. As a result, those who work more do not get

more. Some localities even criticize proper collective sideline production and family sideline production as capitalist tendencies. As a result, the development of sideline production is affected, and the incomes from the collective economy and of commune members have decreased. These problems have hurt the enthusiasm of the cadres, commune members and people of the grassroot units and weakened the collective economy.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and after research and investigation, we have cited the 10 most troublesome problems that exist in the rural areas of our region, problems which are caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four" and have led the cadres and commune members to distinguish between right and wrong in line, make a clear distinction in regard to policy and continue to overcome lingering fear while implementing the policy. We have also clearly put forward the concrete measures that must be taken to implement the economic policies, to reduce the burdens of the production teams and commune members and to strengthen planning and financial and labor management. We have also striven to resolutely correct the local policies of some localities which violate the policy of the party and state, weaken the collective economy and infringe upon the rights of the people. To further mobilize the activism of the people and promote the development of production, we have also striven to solve the problems of a lack of increased income when there is an increase in production and a lack of additional pay for additional work.

Positive and negative experiences have proved that only by seriously implementing the party's economic policies, handling well the relationships among the state, collectives and individuals, between industry and agriculture and among communes, production brigades and production teams and continuing to prevent and overcome all erroneous tendencies can the problem of putting agriculture in the first position be really solved.

Farmland is a basic productive factor in agriculture. How to protect and gradually expand the area of farmland are very important problems in developing agricultural production, in consolidating the collective economy and in correctly handling the relationships between the two systems of ownership and between industry and agriculture. Since 1970 our region has developed hundreds of thousands of mou of farmland and land every year. However, the area of farmland which has been occupied because of the development of construction undertakings has also increased. Furthermore, we have been forced to give up some farmland because of natural disasters. As a result, the present area of farmland has increased by only 4.3 percent compared with the initial period after liberation. With the growth in population, the average area of farmland occupied by each person has decreased. Obviously, this situation does not meet the needs of expanded reproduction in agriculture, of the development of our country's construction undertakings and of the growth of the population. Therefore, we must fully tap the potentials of the

existing farmland, raise per-unit output, continue to promote farmland capital construction in a big way and develop more farmland and land. At the same time we must strictly control the use of land in construction undertakings and centralize the authority for permitting the use of land in the hands of the autonomous region. We must do our best to occupy no farmland or as little as possible. We must especially not occupy good farmland and land. With regard to land that we can occupy, we must use it carefully and in a planned way. With regard to those units which are given permission to occupy land, they must develop other farmland and land and give this land to the region as compensation. At the same time we must criticize the capitalist tendencies of expanding private and residential land which is outside the regulations and of encircling and building fences around the land--a tendency which illegally occupies the collective land. By criticizing revisionism and capitalism and implementing the policy, our region has recouped the collective land which was illegally occupied by individuals over the past few years. The amount of land we have recouped is equivalent to the area of farmland in a medium-sized county.

Manpower distribution is an outstanding policy problem that we have frequently encountered. With the development of various construction undertakings, the problem of industry, commune- and brigade-run enterprises and other professions competing with agriculture for manpower has become more acute. Marx pointed out: "The number of workers engaged in processing and other industries and who divorce themselves from agriculture depends on the surplus volume of agricultural products produced by agricultural laborers in excess of their own consumption." ("Theory of Surplus Value," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 22) Given a situation in which the level of agricultural mechanization is not high, the manpower engaged in commodity grain production will be decreased, the population that consumes commodity grain will increase, the development of agriculture will be affected and market supplies will become tight if we transfer excessive manpower from the frontline of agriculture and if the nonagricultural population grows too rapidly. Furthermore, the development of industry and other undertakings will lack a strong foundation. Looking at the future, the speeding up of agricultural water conservation, mechanization and electrification will not only raise labor efficiency but also free more agricultural manpower to engage in industrial and other undertakings. However, we can now only proceed from the reality of how much commodity grain can be provided by agricultural labor and strictly control the growth of the nonagricultural population.

In regard to organizing manpower, we must first consider the needs of agricultural production. In developing industry we must not rely on the method of transferring a large amount of manpower from the rural areas. Instead, we must rely primarily on the methods of tapping potentials and of making innovations and changes. With regard to the manpower we need, we must do our best to solve this problem by

transferring the manpower from the nonagricultural population. Some factories have used the method of connecting themselves with communes. They have turned over part of their production to commune- and brigade-run enterprises and made arrangements for communes and production brigades to process some parts and semifinished products. This method can not only solve the problem of the manpower shortage in factories but also increase the income of the collective economy.

With regard to the distribution of manpower inside the units of the collective economy, we must also correctly handle the relationships between agriculture and sideline production and between agriculture and other professions, including the relationships between production brigades and production teams and between long-term construction and current production.

We must strictly control and reduce the number of nonproductive personnel. At the same time we must criticize the capitalist tendency of freely using manpower in the rural areas and stop the blind outflow of labor. Enterprises in towns must eliminate private recruitment and resolutely prohibit underground contract teams, transportation teams and construction materials factories. Over the past few years the rural areas in our region have recalled hundreds of thousands of personnel who went to other places. We have normally maintained more than 70 percent of our manpower on the frontline of agriculture. During the busy agricultural seasons we have also organized voluntary industrial and agricultural personnel to work in their production teams. We have also mobilized all trades and professions to support agriculture.

To manifest the support of the state for the collectives and the support of industry for agriculture we must also adhere to the principle that planning comes first and price comes next. In exchanging industrial and agricultural products we must seriously adhere to the price policy of narrowing the disparity between the price of industrial goods and the price of agricultural products, of exchanging equal values or almost equal values. With regard to the supply of agricultural production materials in recent years, we have proceeded from the requirement of supporting the development of agricultural production and consolidating the collective economy, stressed the improvement of quality, adhered to the principle of selling at low prices and earning little profits and even the principle of making no profit and earning just enough to cover the cost, and used the unified selling price set by the state in order to strive to reduce the burdens of communes and production brigades in the rural areas and to support agricultural production.

The production costs of such products as transplanters, threshing machines and combines are high. It is therefore difficult to reduce the price. However, to enable communes and production brigades to buy them, we sell the machinery at a price lower than that marked by the factory. The losses resulting from this policy are covered by commercial

departments. To maintain the unified selling price set by the state, we have also given subsidies to the factories which, because of the influence of objective conditions--for example, equipment, techniques, raw materials, materials and coordination in production--have to suffer losses in the production of agricultural machinery, agricultural chemicals and other products. By so doing we have supported the production of these products and guaranteed the needs of agriculture. With regard to the sale of such support-agriculture materials as diesel oil, gasoline, lubrication oil and timber, we have also followed the state's regulations and implemented the policy of putting a favorable price on materials for agricultural use.

With regard to the procurement of sideline products, we have followed the state's price policy and gradually raised the procurement price of certain types of sideline products. To promote the development of diversification we have also corrected the tendencies to lower the value and price of the products and to suppress the peasants.

To gradually reduce the difference in price between the cities and rural areas we have provided transportation subsidies for 220 sideline products and industrial goods that are used daily by the peasants in the remote mountainous areas, in areas where the people of minority nationalities live and in old revolutionary bases. In the circulation of agricultural products we have also striven to reduce circulation links and management fees so as to reduce the burdens of the peasants.

Chairman Mao said: "Practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. This process repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." To study and understand the brilliant thinking of Chairman Mao on the relationships among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and to put agriculture in the first position we must undergo repeated practice and seriously sum up the positive and negative experiences so as to gradually increase our understanding and raise our awareness. With the development of industry and agriculture and the raising of the level of modernization, new situations and problems affecting the relationships among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry will continue to emerge. We must study, study and study again, practice, practice and practice again. Only by so doing can we adjust our thinking to the new situation, solve new contradictions in a timely way, rapidly and better promote socialist economic construction and contribute to fulfilling the general task for the new period.

## TWO DECADES OF PROGRESS--AN INVESTIGATION OF CHILIYING PEOPLE'S COMMUNE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 47-50

[Investigation report by the investigation group of the CCP committees of Honan Province and Hsinhsiang Prefecture]

[Text] Chiliying People's Commune in Hsinhsiang County, Honan Province, was one of the earliest people's communes in our country. In July 1958, guided by the party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and in keeping with the Big Leap Forward in agricultural production, Chiliying and 6 other villages and 56 agricultural producers cooperatives jointly formed the "Red Flag federation of cooperatives." On the basis of that federation, a people's commune was formed on 4 August. On 6 August great leader and teacher Chairman Mao personally inspected this commune and highly commended this great undertaking by the masses of people. Not long afterward he issued the great call "The people's communes are fine" to the whole country. For 20 years the broad masses of commune members, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, held aloft the great red banner of the people's commune and deepened the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture. The agricultural productive forces developed swiftly, and the economic outlook changed radically, fully demonstrating the tremendous vitality and boundless excellence of the people's commune.

Now this commune has 38 production brigades, 260 production teams, 10,364 households, 57,355 people and 93,472 mou of farmland. Before the liberation it was an old cotton-growing area, yielding some 20 catties of ginned cotton or some 100 catties of grain per mou. After the founding of new China, agricultural production improved somewhat, but a large-scale increase took place only after the establishment of the people's commune. The following table shows the changes in the output and sale volume of grain, cotton, edible oil and hogs in the last 20 years:

Year	Grain per-mou output (catties)	Grain total output (10,000 catties)	Grain sale volume (10,000 catties)	Cotton per-mou output (catties)	Cotton total output (10,000 catties)	Raw cotton sale (10,000 catties)	Edible oil sale (10,000 catties)	Hogs raised (heads)
1957	268	1040.6	-50.9	69	404.0	341.9	14.00	3400
1959	366	1195.0	53.7	79.2	493.0	473.0	11.00	10248
1962	286	1681.6	-225.4	44	130.8	125.3	15.00	4229
1965	437	2510.4	12.0	101	323.8	315.9	17.00	5307
1968	519	3070.9	226.0	108	338.1	327.2	33.00	6672
1971	815	4606.0	400.2	161	499.3	489.0	49.00	16477
1974	1107	5626.1	1098.8	121	376.4	357.6	34.10	18028
1977	1071	5640.5	1149.7	95.7	296.8	283.7	21.44	32883

The above statistics indicate that the development of grain production is fastest. The per-mou grain output reached the target set by the "National Program for Agricultural Development" for Honan in 1965, reached that for areas south of the Yellow River in 1968, reached that for areas south of the Yangtze River in 1971, exceeded 1,000 catties in 5 consecutive years since 1973, and attained the record high yield of 1,421 catties in 1976. In 20 years the total grain output increased by 4 times, completely reversing the erstwhile situation of requiring a supply of some 2 to 3 million catties of grain a year from the state. Last year, although the output was reduced owing to natural disasters, more than 10 million catties of grain were sold to the state. This year, the commune having triumphed over a severe drought, a bumper wheat harvest has been obtained, with a total output of 43.1 million catties and a per-mou output of 870 catties (including the portion under intermixed cultivation of cotton and wheat). As a result, 10,950,000 catties of wheat were sold to the state in the first quarter, fulfilling by almost 3 times the annual quota of grain levy and procurement by the state. As a result of a readjustment in cotton and grain acreage in 1962, although the total cotton output dropped, the per-unit area output increased. Since 1965 the average per-mou [ginned cotton] output over the 13 years was 119.5 catties, thus realizing high yields in both grain and cotton. The major reason the per-mou cotton output in recent years lingered around 100 catties is that the "gang of four" practiced pseudoleftism and real rightism in a big way, slandered the development of industrial crops as going after capitalism, undermined the active rural economic policies and dampened the enthusiasm of the commune members in growing cotton for the revolution. The major edible oil product of this commune is cottonseed oil. The volume of edible oil products paid as taxes in kind and sold to the state has fluctuated in step with the harvest of cotton seeds. In 20 years there has been an increase of 50 percent. In the wake of the increase in grain production, hog breeding has developed on a large scale, too. In 20 years there has been an increase in the number of hogs by 8.6 times, attaining the goal of 3 hogs for each household.

The achievements of Chiliying People's Commune prove that the people's commune system enhances the development of the productive forces. This is concretely manifested in the following facts:

First, the people's commune is large in size; secondly, it has a higher degree of public ownership. It creates favorable conditions for launching farmland capital construction in a big way, for thoroughly changing the natural outlook and for constantly raising the level of productive forces. Chiliying Commune is situated at the former riverbed of the Yellow River. It has alkaline soil in the south, sandy soil in the east, clayey soil in the north and swamps in the west. Forty percent of the soil was of poor quality. Historically, it frequently suffered from drought in the spring and waterlogging in the fall, resulting in low and unstable output. Before the switchover to the people's commune, although the state invested money in the construction of the People's Victory Canal that drew water from the Yellow River for irrigation, owing to the division of villages and cooperatives a unified utilization was impossible. The canal ran tortuously, and irrigation facilities were not available where needed. As a result, a scramble for water in periods of drought and an endeavor to block off the water flow in periods of flood were commonplace, and the advantages of irrigation were not brought into full play. After the switchover to the people's commune, an all-round farmland capital construction plan for eliminating drought, waterlogging and sand and alkaline problems was formulated, and major battles to improve the soil and harness the river were fought. Beginning in 1958, the people's commune fought for seven winters and springs, during which they built three large irrigation canals totaling 60 li and dug three drainage ditches 15 meters wide and 78 li long. Some 278 branch ditches with a total length of 1,116 li were successively built, linking up all kinds of canals and ditches and initially realizing an operating water network. On this basis, efforts were concentrated on drilling wells, installing electricity and advancing toward a high-standard water conservancy system. Some 750 wells were drilled successively, 570 of which were operating with complete sets of equipment. Some 400 engineering projects, including the building of bridges and sluice gates, were launched, 160 li of ditches were strengthened and 760 li of rural power-transmission lines were established. The acreage of improved soil and water supply in the past 20 years is as follows:

<u>Items</u>	<u>Effectively irrigated acreage</u>	<u>Deep-plowed and leveled acreage</u>	<u>All-weather high-yield acreage</u>	<u>Improved alkaline land</u>	<u>Reclaimed sandy wasteland</u>
Improved acreage (in 10,000 mou)	9.20	9.30	7.00	1.80	0.80
Improved acreage (%)	98	99	74	100	100

Now the whole commune has brought almost all its land under irrigation by well and river through mechanization and electrification. Its members now average 1.6 mou of irrigated land and 1.2 mou of all-weather high-yield farmland per capita.

The switchover to the people's commune has promoted farm mechanization, which in turn has developed and strengthened the collective economy. Before the switchover to the people's commune, the state established a tractor station there with three tractors. Because the farmland of the cooperative was small and scattered, mechanization could not be given full play. In 1957 the acreage under mechanized farming was less than one-fourth of the total cultivated acreage. After the switchover to the people's commune, through unified planning for mechanization, electrification, irrigation, road building, afforestation and farmland construction, the commune rearranged and redivided its farmland to clear the deck for farm mechanization. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and, in particular, since the National Conference on Farm Mechanization presided over by Chairman Hua in 1971, farm mechanization has developed swiftly, as shown in the following table:

Year	Tractors (all brands)	Cars	Diesel engines	Electric motors	Generators	Other farm implements	Mechanized farming acreage (%)	Chemical fertilizer per mou (catties)
1969	12	2		559		348	53	130
1971	22	2		820		4536	62	160
1977	176	21	495	1268	25	6584	95	195

Today this commune has basically realized mechanization or semimechanization in such aspects as plowing, drainage and irrigation, plant protection, corn shelling, transportation and processing of subsidiary farm products. The popularization of farm machinery has saved a tremendous amount of labor force. For instance, in plowing, more than 43,000 man-days and 8,700 draft animal-days were saved in 1 year. Furthermore, deep plowing and intensive cultivation were made possible, thereby raising output. In wheat threshing, 1.5 months were required if horses were employed. But now, with some 130 wheeled tractors working in coordination with threshers, the commune can finish the task in 7-10 days. In these circumstances, the rotting of wheat in wet weather can be avoided, a bumper harvest insured, and a large labor force spared for summer field management and summer planting at appropriate times. The problem today is that, although there are many farm machines, they are not in complete sets, and the potentialities of all kinds of machinery therefore have not been fully tapped. At the same time, mechanization has not yet replaced manual operations in sowing, weeding and harvesting. These problems should be solved gradually.

This commune has widely carried out agroscientific experiments with outstanding results. Before the switchover to the people's commune, there were no scientific research organizations, with the exception of a few in advanced villages. After the switchover to the people's commune, an agroscientific research network was gradually established and improved. The commune has an agricultural technical station, under which are six cooperative districts. The production brigades have scientific research groups, and the production teams have technicians. Now the commune has a total of 1,500 scientific and technical members who are not exempted from production. The commune has a seed farm and a seed station. Every production brigade has its scientific research bases, such as seed plots, high-yield plots and experimental plots. In accordance with the requirements set by the agricultural "Eight-Point Charter," the commune takes into consideration the characteristics of the cotton-growing areas and stresses research in cultivating fine-strain crops and preventing plant diseases. Since 1971 the fine-strain crop bases of the commune have yielded an average of 1 million catties of fine-strain wheat seeds a year, 180,000 catties of fine-strain cotton seeds and 600,000 catties of hybrid corn seeds. In addition to adopting such methods as selecting and breeding individual plants, classifying and comparing different strains, hybridizing different strains and selecting pure strains, they have also adopted other advanced techniques, such as hybridization, radiation and artificial pollination to develop many high-quality, high-yield strains that ripen early and can resist adversities. In recent years the cotton crop has been hit by a cotton-withering disease referred to as the "cancer" of cotton. The disease affected almost 50 percent of the cotton crop in some brigades. Cotton production was seriously threatened. With the help of the professional scientific research departments, the peasant technicians throughout the commune successively cultivated some 10 new strains, including the "mien hsiang No. 1" to counter the disease. To date the commune has achieved from its scientific research more than 120 results which are being popularized locally and in other places. Sunchuang Production Brigade, which did a good job in scientific cultivation, scored a record in 1977 by producing one ton of grain per mou and 171 catties of ginned cotton per mou.

The people's commune also simultaneously develops agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery and combines agriculture, industry, commerce, education and military affairs, thus greatly enhancing the prosperous development of commune- and brigade-run enterprises and diversified undertakings:

Year	No. of people taking part in commune & brigade industries	Value of output of commune & brigade industries (10,000 yuan)	% of industrial output value in total industrial & agri-cultural output value	Output value of forestry, animal husbandry, sidelines & fishery (10,000 yuan)	% of output value of forestry, animal husbandry, sidelines & fishery in total industrial & agri-cultural output value	Total & agri-cultural output value (10,000 yuan)	Average output value per person (yuan)
1957	0	0	0	68.2	7.9	863.2	240
1960	305	33.7	3.2	53.3	4.6	1149.9	311
1965	--	--	--	17.2	3.7	464.7	102
1970	88	3.9	0.3	85.3	8.5	1006.5	195
1975	2664	873.2	41.7	85.6	4.1	2093.7	374
1977	3685	1182.6	45.2	347.7	13.3	2616.2	456

One can see that, before the switchover to the people's commune, there was basically no industry. In 1958 some small factories were established, but they were closed down during the 3 years of economic setbacks and were only restored and developed in the seventies. Now the commune has a machinery plant, a farm machinery plant, a phosphate fertilizer plant and a cement plant, and many production brigades have established small industries, such as machinery repair, flour processing, oil pressing, paper making, brick and tile, shoe making and sewing, which serve both agriculture and industry. The commune is self-reliant in the manufacture of threshers, grinders, plows, winnowers and water pumps and in repairing medium-sized and small farm implements. Chiliying Production Brigade, whose industry developed more swiftly, has already transformed a small flour mill which Chairman Mao inspected in the past and which had only four small steel grinders into a medium-sized flour mill that can process 120,000 catties of wheat a day. This production brigade used the funds appropriated by brigade-run enterprises to buy 22 tractors and more than 300 farm implements. Most of the production brigades have their own orchards, totaling 150,000 fruit trees and yielding some 1.8 million catties of fresh fruit every year. The total income from forestry reached 125,000 yuan. In addition to hogs, the commune has raised 1,954 donkeys and horses, 3,898 oxen and 85 dairy cows. The number of poultry has also increased by a large margin. The total income from animal husbandry was some 190,000 yuan. Diversified undertakings, in particular the development of commune and brigade industries, have greatly raised the value of total industrial and agricultural output, increased the accumulation of the collective, promoted farm mechanization and increased the income of the commune members. The present problems are: First,

the value of the output of commune-level enterprises is proportionately less and is 14 percent of the total value of output at the three levels. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of its development. Secondly, many contradictions still exist in the areas of supply, production and sales in commune and brigade industries. It is necessary to make readjustments to solve the contradictions and to gradually incorporate these industries into the state plan.

With the constant development in production, the living standards of the commune members have been raised substantially:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average income per person (yuan)</u>	<u>Daily wage (yuan)</u>	<u>Average ration per person from the collective (catties)</u>	<u>Sum of commune members' savings per year (10,000 yuan)</u>	<u>Sale of social commodities (consumer goods) (10,000 yuan)</u>
1957	63.0	0.60		6.4	54.5
1958-1964 (average per year)	68.0	0.55		10.1	121.3
1965-1970 (average per year)	81.5	0.65	344	17.8	105.2
1971-1976 (average per year)	104.8	0.78	420	29.1	255.4
1977	125.3	0.86	403	55.4	449.8

The income of individual commune members has nearly doubled in 20 years. Their cultural lives have correspondingly been raised. In the early stage of the switchover to the people's commune there were only 28 primary schools and one junior middle school. Now the commune has one high school, and its production brigades have sixteen 9-year schools, twelve 7-year schools and nine 5-year schools, thus providing sufficient middle-school education. Since the switchover to the people's commune, more than 100 children of poor and lower-middle peasants have enrolled in colleges. In the past, medical personnel and medicines were lacking. Now the commune has a hospital, the production brigades have clinics and cooperative medical service has been practiced on a wide scale. More than half the production brigades have film projectors, and commune film-projecting teams move about showing films. Public welfare has developed greatly. The most prominent example is Liuchuang Production Brigade. Its accounting shows that in 1977 the daily wage was 1.45 yuan, averaging 250 yuan plus 540 catties of grain per capita. No household was short of grain or money. Of the brigade's total population of 1,200, one-half moved into newly built houses, averaging 24 square meters per

person. Vegetables, fruits, some firewood, electricity, medical care and education from nursery to high school were all provided free. Material living and cultural living standards are approaching those of city residents.

In the happy days of commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the people's commune, the party committee of Chiliying Commune formulated, in accordance with the demands of the general tasks for the new period, a new plan for the realization of four major economic quotas by 1985: per-mou grain output to be increased to 1 ton; cotton output to "double that set by the National Program for Agricultural Development" (per-mou yield of over 160 catties); 1 hog per person, and 800,000 catties of oil seeds. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by brilliant leader Chairman Hua, they are determined to take the criticism of the "gang of four" as the key and to deepen the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, to advance toward modernizing agriculture, to strive to realize in the shortest possible time the goal of providing one pump-equipped well for each 100 mou, to strengthen all ditches between the fields, to guarantee electrical and mechanical operations for irrigation, to adopt the sprinkling method of irrigation where possible, and to popularize high-standard farms and mechanization. Guided by the policy of taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development, the total industrial and agricultural output value is expected to reach 70 million yuan by 1985, averaging more than 1,000 yuan per capita and assuring a per-capita income of 250 yuan from distribution, thus supplying more grain, cotton and other agricultural subsidiary products to the state and making still greater contributions to the realization of the socialist four modernizations.

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CSO: 4004

## ELIMINATE POLLUTION, CREATE A FINE ENVIRONMENT FOR WORK AND LIVING

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[Article by the Office of the Leadership Group for Environmental Protection Under the State Council]

[Text] Editor's Note: The problem of environmental pollution has been one of great concern in various places and circles. Now is the time to put the elimination of pollution on the agenda of the party committees at various levels. This is because in some places pollution has become intolerable. Protection of the environment and elimination of pollution were long ago decided by the leading central organs, and specific and general policies were formulated and corresponding plans and systems established throughout the country. Yet it is doubtful that they are being implemented in some places or that they are being implemented successfully. The problems here involve the thorough eradication of the remnant poison of the "gang of four" in neglecting the people's health and the practical adoption and implementation of measures to protect the environment, wildlife and natural resources. We must have effective measures, change conditions within a definite time limit and solve problems. We must not have talk but no action and must not procrastinate and waver in our determination or do things in a superficial manner. On this problem we must not follow the path of foreign countries, whose industrialization is accompanied by widespread harm to the public. And we must not allow these bad things to harm our descendants!

In the report on the work of the government delivered at the Fifth NPC, brilliant leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment are a major issue involving

the people's health, an issue to which we must attach great importance. We must draw up regulations to protect the environment and insure that related problems are solved satisfactorily." This important instruction fully manifests the farsightedness and profound concern of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua for the living conditions and health of the masses of people.

The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment are an important feature of socialist construction and a necessary component in the realization of the four modernizations. Great leader Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee have always paid great attention to the task of environmental protection and have accordingly issued a series of important instructions. After the liberation Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out that comprehensive utilization was important and that attention should be paid to this issue. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou showed great concern for the elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment, and he pointed out: Ours is a socialist planned economy which serves the people. In launching industrial construction we should firmly grasp this problem and not do anything that will bring harm to our descendants. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the party and the government formulated this policy on protecting the environment: "Carry out all-round planning, make rational arrangements, practice comprehensive utilization, convert the harmful into the useful, rely on the masses, everyone take a hand in protecting the environment and do good for the people." Many cities and rural areas in our country have carried out comprehensive utilization, converted the harmful into the useful, turned waste into treasures and adopted many measures to eliminate pollution. As a result, our country has managed to offer a fair amount of protection to working and living conditions and to the natural environment in the course of developing the economy. The situation on the whole is good.

Nevertheless, there are a large number of problems, too. Especially in the last few years, to attain their criminal aim of creating widespread confusion and seizing power in the process, the "gang of four," who brought calamity to the country and the people, publicly boycotted and opposed the launching of the task of protecting the environment. They did their best to stir up an ultra-"left" trend of thought and anarchism, opposed all rules and regulations and almost rendered ineffective the few existing rules and regulations concerning environmental protection. The standards for disposing of polluted materials failed to be implemented. As a result, environmental pollution spread egregiously in some places, endangering industrial and agricultural production and the people's health. It is necessary to deepen the criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and eradicate their poisonous influence.

It is necessary to realize that, in the course of realizing the four modernizations, it is extremely important to properly handle the

relationship between economic development and environmental protection. Along with the development of the national economy, in particular the swift development of industry, pollution will increase radically. The adoption of preventive measures is an issue of long-term interest and great significance.

Economic development and environmental protection are unified opposites; they check as well as promote each other. If handled properly, then, while developing the economy, it is possible to prevent the destruction of natural resources and disruption of the ecological system, to protect the health of the masses of people and to enhance economic development. If not handled properly, then public harm abounds and economic development will be hampered. The course of capitalist industrialization is a precedent and should be a warning.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment have great significance in the development of agriculture. The large quantity of harmful waste in gas, liquid and solid forms in industrial production can greatly endanger agricultural production. If waste water that has not been properly handled is used in watering fields, the soil will be ruined, the growth of crops will be affected, output will be reduced and, if the condition is serious, no crop will be harvested at all. When the harmful polluted water flows into rivers and the sea, these waters will be affected, and the breeding of aquatic products will be endangered. As a result, the output of fishery will be greatly reduced. If the condition is serious, the lakes and rivers will become "sterile waters," and fish and prawns will become extinct. The harmful gas will greatly reduce the output of crops. If the condition is serious, highly productive farmland and forest farms will become barren land. Such serious cases have been seen frequently abroad and at times at home, too. Therefore, great attention must be paid to this issue. The unreasonable use of insecticides may also cause pollution that will endanger agriculture. Tests have shown that the long-term and excessive use of chlorinated organic compound as an insecticide will result in pollution to agriculture. It causes harmful insects to develop a resistance to the insecticide and harms the natural enemies of the insect pests as well as useful insects that help pollination. The chlorinated organic compound decomposes slowly and remains in the grain, oil plants, fruits and vegetables. When eaten it affects man's health. Some insecticides and weed killers endanger the fish and useful insects that thrive in the paddy fields and the breeding of microorganism in the soil, thus affecting the growth of crops.

However, these problems can be prevented and solved, and whatever is harmful can be made useful if handled properly. The key is to attach as much importance to them as a line problem, treat them conscientiously and adopt practical measures accordingly. At one time the polluted water of the papermill in Taian County, Shantung Province, polluted the water

sources and endangered agricultural production. The workers looked upon that as a big issue which harmed the worker-peasant alliance. In coordination with the scientific research unit, they launched a campaign to convert the "harmful water" into "useful water" in the form of a fine-quality fertilizer, thereby promoting agricultural development. A factory which harmed agriculture became a factory which was useful to agriculture. Some 40 papermills throughout the province learned from this experience, converted the harmful into the useful and won the welcome of the peasants. At one time the Shaoyang coking coal plant in Hunan Province gave off waste gas which seriously endangered agricultural production, and the plant had to compensate the agricultural losses every year. In handling this problem, the plant eliminated the danger to agriculture and even recovered an annual value of some 900,000 yuan from the waste gas. One principle that must be observed is to run industry without causing pollution that will endanger agriculture. Newly established industrial projects, including county- and commune-run "five small" industries, must pay attention to making reasonable arrangements so that, when these industries are being established, measures can be adopted to prevent pollution and to avoid causing additional pollution. The currently established factories and mining enterprises must formulate plans to solve the problem of pollution within a prescribed period.

Pollution caused by farm chemicals is primarily a question of management. The poisonous nature of insecticide is measured by the quantity used. Even insecticides that have a low poison content or are not poisonous will cause pollution when used in excess. On the other hand, insecticides that are allegedly poisonous—for example, the chlorinated organic compound—may not cause pollution as long as they are used on particular plants against particular insect pests in suitable quantities and on suitable occasions. Therefore, the formulation of strict rules and methods for managing and reasonably using insecticides becomes an important measure in preventing the danger caused by pollution. At the same time it is necessary to positively study and manufacture new brands of insecticides that are highly effective in killing insect pests, that contain a low poison content or are not poisonous to human beings, plants and the environment, and that have low residual effects. It is necessary to actively study new techniques in the protection of plants that are not suffering from pollution, in particular new techniques in prevention and cure, and to study and improve the containers for insecticides and the techniques of spraying.

Pollution of the environment in our country today is caused primarily by industry. To trace the roots, the solution of pollution should begin with the solution of industrial pollution. Industry is the guiding factor of the national economy. To accelerate the development of the national economy and to realize the goal of building a modern, powerful socialist country, it is imperative to develop industry at high speed. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Without industry there can be no solid national defense, no people's welfare and no national prosperity and power." ("On Coalition

Government") The solution to industrial pollution obviously cannot depend on the restriction of development. To check development is tantamount to abolishing eating to avoid choking. Rather, it is necessary to adopt corresponding measures to prevent or eliminate pollution in an endeavor to bring about harmony between development and the environment. This is a correct and positive method and is entirely practicable.

Industrial pollution not only endangers the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery, affects the relationship between workers and peasants and endangers the health of the masses, but also directly affects the development of industry itself. First, industrial production that causes pollution harmful to the surrounding environment must necessarily cause pollution in the immediate working environment, the factory itself, and in such circumstances proves all the more serious. The workers are the direct victims of industrial pollution. The health of workers who labor over an extended period of time in a polluted environment will be affected. The workers will become ill and will even lose their ability to work. Thus, the danger of pollution directly undermines the productive forces. Second, industrial pollution will damage equipment, workshops, drainage pipes and other buildings, affect the normal functioning of the equipment, render meters ineffective and affect the normal process of production. Third, clean water and air are raw materials and important factors in many kinds of industrial production. Polluted water and air will directly hamper the process of production, affect the quality of products, increase handling expenses and raise the cost of production. Fourth, industrial pollutants represent direct or indirect losses of raw materials in industrial production. The more pollutants, often referred to as the "three wastes," are discarded, the more raw materials are needed and the higher the cost of production, resulting in a great waste of the nation's resources. Thus, the solution to industrial pollution has become an urgent need in accelerating industrial development.

The solution to industrial pollution is not passive "handling" but prevention and active initiative to convert pollutants from being harmful to being useful, to change waste into treasure and a negative factor into a positive factor. Marx calls the utilization of industrial waste a new element of production. He points out: Production wastes, the so-called offal, when actively utilized by man, can be "converted into new elements of production, either of the same or of some other line of industry, through a process by which these so-called wastes are thrown back into the cycle of production and consequently of consumption (whether productive or individual)." ("Capital," Vol 3; "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 95) Brilliant leader Chairman Hua points out: "We must pay attention to comprehensive utilization, since this means not only fully utilizing resources but also reducing environmental pollution. The three industrial wastes, when ignored, are harmful, but when used they are treasures." The teachings of Marx and the instruction of Chairman Hua have indicated to us a broad and positive path for solving

industrial pollution. Industrial waste constitutes a tremendous treasure house of resources. Some call them "secondary industrial raw materials." There is much to be done in comprehensive utilization. For instance, the "waste gas" discarded by a nonferrous metal refinery contains a large amount of sulfur dioxide, which is extremely harmful. If utilized, it can be made into sulphuric acid, which is needed in industry. In our country the waste gas produced by some key enterprises which has not been utilized is sufficient for the manufacture of several hundred thousand tons of sulphuric acid alone. The production of sulphuric acid from waste gas involves neither mining nor transportation. Construction is rapid and costs are low. It is like killing several birds with one stone. Caustic soda is the industrial raw material for manufacturing paper. Every year several hundred thousand tons of it is discarded with waste water, which causes water pollution and greatly endangers fishery production. If the papermill can retrieve and utilize this waste, how great a treasure it will prove!

Comprehensive utilization is an important economic policy. It demands the elimination of barriers between trades or industries and the practice of diversified undertakings centering on one undertaking. The iron and steel mill utilizes waste materials to produce chemicals as well as construction materials; the papermill produces chemicals; the power plant produces construction materials; and the chemical works produces construction materials and nonferrous metals, and so on. Launching comprehensive utilization of the "three wastes" on a popular scale will greatly expand the sources of raw materials, accelerate the development of industrial production and obtain greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment rely first on the line and policies and secondly on science and technology. The quantity of industrial pollutants discarded is directly related to the production techniques adopted. Advanced production techniques and equipment will produce little or no waste and other undesirable elements and will therefore do little or no harm to the environment. Backward production techniques and equipment will turn a large amount of raw materials into waste while producing radiation, noise and vibration to pollute the environment. Marx points out: "It depends on the quality of the machines and tools employed whether a large or small portion of raw material is converted into waste in the process of production." ("Capital," Vol 3; "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 119) Thus, popularly launching technical innovation and improving techniques--in particular, studying new technologies and new techniques that are harmless to the environment--become important issues for industry as a whole in carrying out technical reformations, tapping potentials and launching renovations.

It is necessary to demand that industrial production reduce its waste to the minimum. But a demand that no waste be produced is at this point

difficult for the majority of industrial departments to meet. The positive method is to launch comprehensive utilization and harmless handling of industrial waste. This also requires science and technology. "The progress of science, especially of chemistry, discovers the useful qualities of such waste." ("Capital," Vol 3; "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 117) At present, although there are measures for handling technically the majority of industrial waste materials, the handling is often time consuming and ineffective. Also, the installations are often complicated and costly. For some pollutants there are as yet no technical handling measures, and they are therefore allowed to be disposed of at random. To change this situation, on the one hand factories and mining enterprises should launch wide-scale mass activities of technical innovation; on the other hand scientific research units should carry out systematic research emphasizing those pollutants that are present in large quantities and are widespread, determine the best plan for utilizing and handling them, link mass scientific experiments with specialized scientific research, and link the handling of current pollution with research on long-term methods of eliminating pollution so that scientific research on the environment can better serve the elimination of pollution, the protection of the environment and the realization of the four modernizations.

To do a good job of protecting the environment it is necessary to eradicate the obscurantist policy of the "gang of four," effectively launch propaganda and education and enable the leading cadres at various levels and the broad masses to understand the significance of the struggle against pollution, so that everyone makes suggestions and takes part in it. The masses, in particular the workers fighting on the production front, are victims who have a strong desire to eliminate pollution and improve the environment and who show great enthusiasm for solving the problem of pollution. As long as the masses are mobilized, the problem of pollution will be solved easily. Also, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to supervise the leading persons at various levels in adopting practical measures to solve the problem of pollution. Enterprises subjected to strong mass complaints about their heavy pollution must be assigned a timetable to remedy the situation. Where pollution is serious, production must be halted and can be resumed only after the problem is solved. In some cases it may be necessary to change products or move the plant concerned.

In accordance with Chairman Hua's instruction, "We must adopt measures to solve the problem of pollution," it is necessary to formulate decrees and rules on environmental protection and to overcome the state of anarchism. Factories, harbors, rivers, cities and industrial and mining districts that are polluted should formulate plans for eliminating pollution. Solutions should be effected in accordance with the seriousness of the problem in particular districts and within a set period. The elimination of pollution and protection of the environment must be included in the movements to learn from Taching in industry and from

Tachai in agriculture, and they must be regarded as one of the tasks in launching socialist labor emulation and as one of the targets in examining the enterprise's efforts to complete its production tasks in an all-round manner.

To realize the four modernizations before the end of this century is an unprecedented great cause. We must realize this goal at an even faster rate than that of the capitalist countries and at the same time avoid the detour of the capitalist countries in allowing harm to the public to run rampant. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by brilliant leader Chairman Hua, we must continue to deepen the exposure and criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four," eradicate their pernicious influence, give full play to the outstanding qualities of the socialist system and the planned economy, rely on the masses, strengthen scientific research, raise the level of management, adopt positive measures and, while realizing the four modernizations, create a clean and beautiful working and living environment.

9335

CSO: 4004

THE SMALL PRODUCER'S WAY OF DOING BUSINESS MUST BE ELIMINATED IN ORDER  
TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 55-58

[Article by Tung Tai [5516 1132]]

[Text] Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have repeatedly pointed out that we now lag behind not only in technology but in managerial skills, too. If we do not raise the level of management, we cannot realize the four modernizations. The whole party must recognize the gravity of this problem.

Since the founding of the nation we have accumulated certain experience in economic management, but we still have many weak points to eliminate. The disruption of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" pushed us far below our original level. Many essential rules and regulations were abolished, socialist planned economy was severely undermined, numerous problems in management work developed, and a state of what can be called semianarchy was created. Thus, to raise the level of management it is first necessary to deepen the criticism of the fallacy of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in undermining management and thoroughly eradicate their pernicious influence.

At the same time it is necessary to fully understand that the small producer's way and concept of doing business, which have been handed down through several thousand years, are a great obstacle to raising the level of management and to realizing the four modernizations. Great efforts are needed to eliminate this obstacle. Eliminating the small producer's way of doing business is an important program in continuing the revolution in the superstructure and is an effort to eliminate that in our thinking which does not correspond with the demand of realizing the four modernizations. This is a profound ideological revolution which will greatly raise the level of our guiding thought and enable us to advance victoriously in our cause of socialist modernization.

The small producer's way of doing business is determined by the characteristics of small-scale production. Talking about small-scale production and its characteristics, Marx points out: "This mode of production presupposes the parceling of land and scattering of other means of production. As it excludes the concentration of these means of production, so also it excludes cooperation, division of labor within each separate production process, control over and productive application of the forces of nature by society, and free development of the social productive powers. It is compatible only with a system of production, and a society, moving within narrow or more or less primitive bounds." ("Capital," Vol 1; "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 830) This scientific summary by Marx tells us that the small producer's way of doing business is basically incompatible with the demands of social large-scale production, in particular with modern, socialist large-scale production.

In our country, small producers with the characteristic of self-sufficiency have enjoyed the longest period of history. Their method and concept of doing business have greatly influenced some of our comrades. Here we will specifically contrast and accordingly illustrate the differences between the small producer's way of doing business and the demands of modern, socialist large-scale production.

First, small producers follow the beaten track and stick to accustomed rules, while modern, large-scale production calls for constant innovation in science and technology.

The small producer's sphere of doing business is limited, his working tools are simple and production depends on the talents and limited experience of the individual. The small producer does not realize the power of the collective and, furthermore, does not realize the strength of science and technology. He realizes only the power of the individual. He is limited in experience and shortsighted, follows the beaten track and sticks to accustomed rules. The economic strength of a small producer is weak and often can only sustain a simple reproduction. So he tends to be conservative and content with things as they are; he is afraid of failure, afraid to shoulder hardships and dares not bring forth new things. Some people even keep secret the few techniques and experience they possess, teach only their own folk and refuse to disseminate their experience.

Modern, large-scale production, which widely applies science, technology, mechanization and automation, is highly scientific and technological and continues to bring forth new techniques day after day. All this demands that leading personnel and managerial personnel of enterprises study and grasp modern science and technology and the latest techniques and scientific methods of enterprise management. However, fettered by the small producer's conservative thinking, many of our enterprises still use old techniques, old methods of doing business and old methods of

management day after day and year after year, without thinking about improvement and without moving forward. People who think this way not only learn very little technique and management, but are satisfied with the idea that "although not many, we make achievements every year; although not rapidly, we are moving forward every year." They are blinded by their presumptuous conceit and look at the world from inside a well. Some even go so far as to block technology or attempt to monopolize it.

At present there is a certain amount of self-exaltation, complacency, conservatism and presumptuous conceit in economic work. If these thought processes are not resolutely changed, it will not be possible to achieve the lofty aspiration and high aim of making positive progress or to conscientiously learn and grasp advanced science and technology and a scientific and advanced method of doing and managing business.

Secondly, small producers are narrowminded and selfish and are not aware of the overall situation, while modern large-scale production calls for specialization and daily coordination.

Small producers (with the exception of independent handicraft workers) are economically self-sufficient. Chairman Mao says: "The peasants produced not only agricultural products but most of the handicraft articles they needed." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") The peasants for ages have grown a bit of everything, taken care of themselves, and been almost self-sufficient, needing nothing more. Their self-sufficiency determines their narrowmindedness and selfishness and their lack of awareness of the overall situation.

Modern, large-scale production, on the other hand, is a production system that has a meticulous division of labor and a high sense of coordination. In socialist society, that applies to an enterprise as well as to the entire socialist economy. With the development of science and technology it becomes more and more important to organize production on the principle of specialization and coordination. This is a prominent quality in the management of modern, large-scale production. Nevertheless, influenced by the small producer's view of self-sufficiency, some of our comrades, in thinking about problems and handling affairs, tend to base everything on the narrow interests of their unit and locality. They feel that "what our fathers and mothers had is not as good as what I have," and they are reluctant to carry out specialization and coordination in production. In industry they like to set up either all-embracing "small but comprehensive" or "large and comprehensive" factories that have everything. They do not want to ask of others and cannot see the tremendous advantages of the division of labor and coordination in modern, large-scale industry. They go after small profits, are not concerned about the overall situation and lack the thinking of "coordination of all activities of the nation as in a chess game." As a result, in such

enterprises the rate of utilization of equipment is low, the production period is long, labor productivity is low, costs are high, there is tremendous waste and the economic results are poor. In agriculture, some cadres take the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" to mean that every agricultural production unit must be self-sufficient in grain. As a result, they fail to make rational arrangements for agricultural production in accordance with the arrangement of economic districts and fail to carry out specialized production suiting the locality. The result is that they obstruct the popularization of modern agricultural techniques and the raising of labor productivity and reduce the volume of commodities and weaken the economic results.

We must fully understand that, whether in industry or in agriculture, organizing specialized production is an inevitable trend in modern, large-scale production. In industry we must adopt resolute attitudes to change, in a planned and systematic manner, the backward "small but comprehensive" and "large and comprehensive" forms of enterprises and popularly organize and launch specialization and coordination. In agriculture we must take grain as the key link, insure all-round development and develop agricultural production in a manner suitable to the locality, in a reasonably concentrated way and in a manner that fully utilizes the natural conditions of different localities.

Thirdly, small producers are self-indulgent, while modern, large-scale production calls for tight organization and efficiency in production.

Small producers take a household or a family as a productive unit and do business separately and in an unconnected way. The independent and scattered nature of this type of production determines its self-indulgent manner. Small producers have no sense of urgency and do only what they can do in one day. They are not bound by rules and regulations or by any precise concept of time. They "start work at sunrise and finish work at sunset," are not concerned about production efficiency and pay no attention to saving time.

It is different with modern, large-scale production. In modern industry, continuity in the process of production is unprecedented. This calls for the closest coordination among workers, among the various production units and among the various coordinating enterprises. They should have a clear system of personal responsibility and a system of economic responsibility, should seriously abide by rules and regulations and work in coordination, should report and handle promptly and effectively extraordinary situations and should guarantee high efficiency in production. This continuity, precision and timeliness in production call for scientific management, clear rules on the division of working responsibilities among managerial personnel, the various workshops and the various coordinating enterprises, and special attention to the quality of products and work efficiency. Nevertheless, due to the influence of the small

producers' attitude of self-indulgence, in many of our enterprises the organization is not tight, the system is not sound, responsibilities are not clearly stated, contracts are not implemented, discipline is loose, affairs are run in a sloppy way, schedules are not observed, the quality of products is poor and work efficiency is low.

Poor product quality and low work efficiency are prominent problems in enterprises at present. They manifest a lack of a revolutionary sense of responsibility and an enterprising spirit. Acceleration of the building of a modern, large-scale industry calls for a high sense of responsibility and an enthusiastic enterprising spirit on our part. In this enterprising spirit we will forget sleep and meals, assiduously study techniques, strengthen management, try by every means to raise the quality of products, fight for timeliness and speed, change our style of work and try by every means to raise work efficiency. In this way the speed of our construction will be greatly accelerated.

Fourthly, small producers everywhere manifest blindness, while modern, socialist large-scale production calls for thorough planning.

The small producers system is based on small private ownership, which is dispersed and spontaneous. This determines the small producers' blindness, their tendency to act as they please and go their own way. Planning is negligible.

Modern, socialist large-scale production, on the other hand, calls for thorough planning. Through unified planning the state organizes the various industrial, communications, agricultural and commercial departments and the various marketing and supply units into an organic whole. The various enterprises, units, departments and districts should firmly abide by and implement the state plan. Nevertheless, in our actual economic work, in addition to a capitalist blindness, a small producer's blindness also frequently and constantly batters and undermines state planning and management. For instance, despite a lack of sufficient raw material and material sources, fuel and motive power, some places will blindly set up factories. As a result, they cannot guarantee normal production. Some enterprises that are not producing the right kind of products, having second-rate product quality, charging high prices and suffering a long period of poor sales, continue to produce blindly, resulting in much overstocking. Some commercial departments blindly import a large quantity of commodities that are not in the plan or are of poor quality and as a result have to sell them at reduced prices, incurring great losses. It is not difficult to see that the blindness of these small producers is a far cry from the enthusiasm of localities which are under the unified leadership of the leading central organs, and that the blindness is basically opposed to state planning and management. Thus, it is necessary to overcome blindness and strengthen consciousness so as to guarantee implementation of the state plan.

Fifthly, small producers lack the concept of accounting, while modern, socialist large-scale production calls for strict accounting.

Small producers rely on their own means of production, use their own labor in production and consume all or most of their own products. They do not have such concepts as production cost, wages, profits, labor productivity and economic results. They do not make accurate estimates of production consumption; if they do, it is nothing but a running account of materials consumed. Labor is hardly counted.

In modern, large-scale production, every activity is counted. Marx says: "Bookkeeping, for the control and ideal survey of the process, becomes necessary to the extent that the process assumes a social scale and loses its purely individual character. It is therefore more necessary in capitalist production than in scattered handicraft and agricultural production, and it is still more necessary in cooperative than in capitalist production." ("Capital," Vol 2; "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, p 152) Thus, socialist large-scale production needs, not only more than small producers but even more than capitalist production, to pay attention to bookkeeping. Keeping account means to consciously make use of the law of value, strengthen economic accounting, use the least consumption to bring about the greatest economic results, create a daily growing material wealth for society and accumulate a daily growing construction fund for the state.

Nevertheless, some people hold that inasmuch as state-run enterprises are a system of ownership by the whole people and their profits and losses are those of the state, so "the cooked meat is always inside the pot," and whether or not economic accounting is carried out does not matter very much. Some enterprises do not pay attention to improving techniques or to raising labor productivity. Whenever increasing production is mentioned, they stretch out their hands to ask for more workers. This also is a manifestation of the small producer's thinking in doing business. Under the influence of such thinking, our economic work is seriously plagued by the practice of not strictly carrying out economic accounting and not paying attention to economic results. The majority of enterprises still have low labor productivity, poor product quality, high production costs, slow turnover of funds and low profits. Some enterprises are still suffering losses. In commerce, circuitous routing, the tying up and spoilage of commodities and losses in business operation are still serious problems. These situations must be changed rapidly. If the state-run industrial enterprises throughout the country can restore to their previously higher level the taxes and profits produced from every hundred dollars' worth of output, the state's revenue will increase by 20 billion yuan a year. And if the state's expenditure for grain and edible oil sales is reduced to the best record in history, a saving of 1.3 billion yuan in losses can be effected in one year. What great potential is hidden behind this increase and reduction! Thus, we must

generate funds and increased productivity by strengthening economic accounting and raising the level of management.

Sixthly, small producers practice a closed-door policy, while modern, large-scale production calls for a broad international exchange of economic techniques.

The natural economy of small producers relies on the producers' own strength to satisfy their own needs; they basically do not need to exchange with other people in order to survive. Thus, they close their doors and practice exclusionism.

Modern, large-scale production is just the opposite. Because of the daily development in the division of labor and in coordination and the constant progress in science and technology, it needs economic and technical exchange not only at home but also internationally. Capitalist modern, large-scale production would find it difficult to develop if cut off from international economic and technical exchange. Neither can our socialist modern, large-scale production be cut off from the world. As long as it is not harmful to our country's sovereignty, as long as it does not obstruct our country's economic independence, and as long as it is in accordance with Chairman Mao's line in foreign affairs, we should, in accordance with our needs and with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and each making up what the other lacks, actively launch economic activities and technical exchanges with other countries. Chairman Mao says: "In the natural sciences we are rather backward, and here we should make a special effort to learn from foreign countries." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") To accelerate the pace of the four modernizations we should, while vigorously developing our foreign trade, skillfully make use of some established international trade methods to import foreign advanced technology in a planned and active manner. To import advanced technology is not to import capitalism but to utilize the common treasure created by mankind. At the same time it is necessary to study the scientific aspects of foreign enterprise management and apply them for our own use.

Our policy is: Maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands. Nevertheless, keeping the initiative in our own hands is not the same as self-sufficiency. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou once said: "No country in the world can produce all it needs." To view keeping the initiative in our own hands as self-sufficiency is to follow the small producer's blind exclusionist and closed-door thinking.

The several points outlined above explain how the small producer's concept of doing business still exists to a serious extent in our current economic life. In old China small producers were like a vast sea. Today, although collectivization has been realized, ideology still lags behind the reality. The small producer's concept of doing business is still deeprooted. Many of our economic management cadres come from the

countryside and lack strict training and experience in managing modern, large-scale production. The viewpoints and habits of small producers continue to restrain them. Our country's agriculture today is still basically manual labor and retains the family sidelines that are operated in the manner of the small producer's way of doing business. In industry a portion of the enterprises and undertakings continue to follow the backward production methods of handicraft industry. The division of labor and coordination between enterprises and their surrounding society have not been fully developed. These situations show that the small producer's method and thinking in doing business, which have been handed down for several thousand years, cannot be uprooted yet. Lenin says: "To transform the small producers and their entire psychology and habits will take several generations." ("Report on the Substitution of the Tax-in-Kind System for the Procurement of Surplus Grain," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 205) Talking about the problem of the reform of peasants, Chairman Mao pointed out: In the countryside basic ownership by the commune has been realized and the commune has become further nationalized. When the country is filled with new cities and industries, when the nation's communications and transportation have been modernized and when economic conditions have changed in an all-round manner, then the world outlook of the peasants can be gradually and completely changed. Although thorough reform of the small producer's concept of doing business takes a long time and depends on the tremendous development of the productive forces in society, it is still necessary to fully understand that if this thinking is not conscientiously overcome it will seriously obstruct the speedy development of socialist construction. Its contradictions with the four modernizations will become more and more prominent. Thus, we must consciously and relentlessly solve this problem.

Economic management and enterprise management are a science which reflects and sums up the internal law of socialist production. We must manage factories well, manage mines well, manage communications well, manage stores well, manage farms well and manage people's communes well. In short, to manage modern economy well we must respect objective laws. For this, while realizing the revolutionization of management, we must realize the modernization of management. As long as we act in accordance with objective laws and greatly raise the level of economic management, we can guarantee high speed in economic construction and accelerate the pace of the four modernizations.

9335

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## STRENGTHEN UNITY ON THE BASIS OF THE LINE SET BY THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 59-64

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] Led by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole party and army and people of all nationalities throughout the country have won a great victory in grasping the key link of class struggle in running the country well and in struggling to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Socialist construction is in full swing, and a political situation marked by stability and unity has taken shape.

However, we must soberly realize that class enemies at home and abroad will invariably carry out sabotage and make trouble in our struggle to build a modern and powerful socialist country. We shall encounter numerous difficulties on our road of advance. Moreover, the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" is still spreading far and wide and cannot be wiped out in a short time. Factors detrimental to party unity still exist inside and outside our party. All these reasons make it imperative for comrades throughout the party to greatly strengthen the great unity of the whole party and whole army and the Chinese people of all nationalities in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings on strengthening unity and in answer to Chairman Hua's great call to "study, study and study once more; unite, unite and unite once more." Only in this way can we unite with all forces that can be united and bring into play all positive factors that can be brought into play. We cannot defeat the enemy, overcome all difficulties and dangers and insure the victorious accomplishment of the general task for the new period unless people inside and outside the party and throughout the country are of one mind.

### The Basis for the Unity of the Whole Party in the New Period

Party unity has always been a unity based on principle and must have a common basis. The history of our party over the past decades has proven that only by upholding unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

Thought can we achieve a genuine revolutionary unity. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the guiding thought and theoretical foundation of our party. Our party always upholds the principle of integrating theory with practice and applies basic Marxist theories to analyze the historical conditions and class relations in various periods and to formulate the correct line. The party line is the concrete embodiment of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as well as the basis for the unity of the whole party in various periods.

Applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the new historical conditions, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua formulated the 11th party congress line, set the general task for the new period and laid down general and specific policies that are appropriate to the new period and the new situation. Chairman Hua pointed out: "We must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, uphold the basic line of the party in the historical period of socialism, grasp the key link of class struggle in running the country well, continue the revolution and strive to build a modern and powerful socialist country. This is the line set by the 11th party congress." This line embodies the behests of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. It reflects the objective law of socialist revolution and construction, fully expresses the aspirations of the millions and is in complete accord with the basic interests of the people throughout the country. It is the beacon light guiding the whole party and army and the Chinese people of all nationalities in their new Long March and in their drive to accomplish the general task for the new period. At present the line set by the 11th party congress is the basis for the unity of the whole party. If we depart from this line, that is, from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the strengthening of party unity and the upholding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will just be idle talk.

The tremendous achievements we have made on the political, economic, military, cultural, education, scientific and technological fronts in the past 2 years are eloquent proof of the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. The party Central Committee is a model in holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. The line, principles and policies formulated by it are entirely correct. To truly hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and safeguard the basis for the unity of the whole party in the new period of development, we must closely follow the strategic plans of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, thoroughly criticize the "gang of four's" crimes in tampering with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in sabotaging party unity and raise our consciousness in carrying out the line set by the 11th party congress. We must also implement correctly and in an all-round way the various policies of our party, including those on cadres, intellectuals, economics, culture and education, scientific and technological development, nationalities, the united front and foreign affairs. Only

in this way can we rally the 30 million party members and 800 million people around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action and accomplish the general task for the new period.

#### Factors Now Jeopardizing Our Inner-Party Unity

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Opposition and struggle between different ideas constantly occur within the party; this is a reflection within the party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end." ("On Contradiction") Every year, as we talk about unity, we must struggle against anything that impairs party unity. Our task is to adopt a correct principle, policy and method to eliminate factors detrimental to unity and to constantly strengthen party unity on a new basis.

To begin with, we must guard against and prevent class enemies from sabotaging party unity. In the present struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must fully understand that the handful of the gang's cohorts and backbone elements who were hostile to our party and to the socialist cause had done great harm to party unity despite their small number. These people are now trying their utmost to resist and sabotage the movement. Should they find the opportunity, they will create "earthquakes" and splits and continue to sabotage party unity in the future. In accordance with the line, principles and policies of our party, we must do a good and thorough job of investigation, fully expose and isolate this handful of bad people and not leave any hidden dangers behind. Abetted and shielded by the "gang of four" over the years, the active counterrevolutionaries, landlords and rich peasants who wanted class retaliation, criminals, embezzlers and grafters, speculators and profiteers, bad elements who seriously disrupted public order and culprits guilty of smashing, beating and looting went wild in their maneuvers. By dragging our cadres into their camp and sending their men to sneak into our ranks, they corrupted and demoralized our cadres. This also seriously sabotaged party unity. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must also deal a telling blow to these bad people and suppress their evil influence.

This treatment applies to people outside our ranks. As for people within our ranks, we must take into full account the grave existence of factors jeopardizing party unity. We must never overlook these intricate and complex factors.

For example, some comrades within our ranks committed mistakes, even serious ones, because they once carried out the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line and were involved in the gang's conspiracy to usurp party and state power. In the great struggle to expose and

criticize the "gang of four," most of these comrades realized and examined their own mistakes and were forgiven by the masses. However, a small number of erring comrades still have not acquired a correct attitude and are slow in coming to their senses. Though they have made a little self-criticism, they tend to avoid crucial issues. The masses resent them because they do not tell the truth, refuse to place their mistakes and actual thinking on the table and even continue to commit the mistake of covering up, suppressing the masses and interfering with the orientation of the movement. Consequently, the masses are very angry with them, and they cannot face the masses and are always in a passive position. These comrades should think more about the interests of the party and the people, be worthy of the help of the party and their fellow comrades, boldly face their own mistakes and resolutely set their errors right. Only in this way will they acquire a common language with the cadres and the masses and arrive at a new unity on a new basis.

For another example, some comrades inside our party have had their thinking seriously poisoned, though they were not involved in the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power. They always find themselves ill-adapted to the line, general and specific policies and various measures for grasping the key link of class struggle in running the country well that were formulated by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua after the "gang of four" was smashed. They objected to and were discontented with certain important questions of principle. Even now some of them still practice bourgeois factionalism and do not care much about the proletarian party spirit and principle or about the party's interests. They do not give due consideration to the interests of the whole and do not make it their practice to avoid exclusiveness. They work in small circles, always trying to pull over a section of people to their side and to push out another section. They continue to jeopardize party unity. Actually, what these people uphold is the set of reactionary theories, viewpoints and methods of thinking advocated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Going against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they style themselves as "consistently correct" and think of themselves as "the only revolutionaries," as though they are more "revolutionary" than anyone else. These comrades have come to a dangerous point. They should wake up, conscientiously straighten out their thinking, enhance their understanding and draw lessons from the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" in connection with the criticism of Lin Piao and completely emancipate themselves from the mental shackles imposed by these people.

Furthermore, under the evil influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," some comrades have discarded the fine tradition and workstyle of our party. Among these comrades there are people who go against our party's democratic centralism, suppress democracy, refuse to let others speak up, favor "what I say counts" and oppose "rule by the voice of the many"; people who act like high and mighty officials, consider themselves superior and divorce themselves from the masses and from reality; people

who resort to deception, hoodwink higher authorities and those below, gain honor by cheating and harm the interests of the masses; people who violate party policies, arbitrarily and truculently suppress the masses and act in a commandist way; people who look for a life of ease and security, go after material comforts, take advantage of their position and power to gain private interests and indulge in extravagance and waste. All these are manifestations of the ideology and workstyles of the landlord and bourgeois classes and are corrosive agents that will harm revolutionary unity. These comrades should effectively remold their thinking, change their workstyle and revive and carry forward our party's fine tradition in deed and not just in word. Only in this way can we strengthen unity among comrades inside our party, between those in higher and those in lower positions and between the party and the people.

Historical experience tells us that with the triumph of the correct line over the erroneous line after each major struggle between the two lines inside our party, a new situation of unprecedented unity and prosperity invariably prevails throughout the party. However, compared with the political triumph over the erroneous line, much more time and a great deal more effort are required to thoroughly eliminate the serious consequences of this line, right the wrongs on questions of ideology and theory and consolidate and strengthen the unity of the whole party on a new basis. Out of their need to usurp party and state power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" for a long time created splits and sabotaged the unity of the party with the people, which led to grave consequences. To strengthen party unity we must deeply criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and reactionary ideology of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence in connection with the actual situation. Only by mobilizing all fronts, all departments and all units to rectify those points which had been turned upside down by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and to carry out the line set by the 11th party congress in every grassroots unit can we forge the closest unity and promote the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### Resolve Internal Contradictions Through Rectification of Workstyle

To eliminate factors jeopardizing inner-party unity and strengthen party unity on a new basis, it is necessary to strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two types of contradictions of different natures, that is, contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people. We must adopt the method of struggling against the enemy and the method of dictatorship to resolve contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. In resolving contradictions among the people, including questions pertaining to orientation, road and line among the people, we must never adopt the method of struggling against the enemy. The only way to settle these questions is through rectification, that is, the democratic method, the method of persuasion and education, of criticism and self-criticism.

Rectification is the only correct method to resolve inner-party contradictions and strengthen revolutionary unity. Founded in 1921, our party went through two decades of struggle and paid a high price before it learned to master this method. During the first and second revolutionary civil wars, the chieftains of the "left" and right opportunist lines, particularly Wang Ming, resorted to "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in inner-party struggle and harmed many revolutionary comrades. This seriously sabotaged party unity and nearly ruined our revolutionary cause. Summing up the positive and negative experiences of our inner-party struggle, Chairman Mao formulated the great method of rectification. This was epitomized in the famous formula "unity, criticism, unity." To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. The great and historic Yen'an rectification movement personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao was a brilliant example of resolving inner-party contradictions through rectification. The Yen'an rectification educated the masses of cadres, raised the Marxist level of the whole party, brought about unprecedented unity and prosperity within our party and insured our victory in the war of resistance against Japan and in the liberation war. In the period of socialism, Chairman Mao extended the method of inner-party rectification beyond the party to the people throughout the country and made it the basic method for correctly handling contradictions among the people. Chairman Mao's theory and practice of rectification are an important development of Marxism-Leninism as well as an extremely precious spiritual wealth that he handed down to us.

In resolving contradictions within the party and among the people, we must give full play to democracy, let others speak up and permit others to state different opinions. As long as they do not violate discipline and do not engage in underground activities, they can say anything, right or wrong. If they say something wrong, they should be criticized but not punished. We should permit others to hold discussions and debates when they have different opinions on matters of theory, art and science or have different ideas about actual work. We must advocate upholding the truth and rectifying mistakes. We must set forth the facts, discuss them rationally and convince people through reasoning. We must create a profound atmosphere of democracy so that people can bare their hearts and speak up boldly. When we come across different opinions, we must not exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum and label and attack others at random, because this behavior will stop the free airing of views, strangle democracy and jeopardize unity. Only by giving full play to democracy and overcoming wrong opinions with correct ones through full discussions and debates can we truly achieve unity in thinking and unanimity in action.

To persistently uphold the method of rectification, we must adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" in our dealings with erring comrades,

including those who committed serious mistakes, and achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. We must adhere to principle and conscientiously and seriously criticize their mistakes. We must not be overly lenient. Criticism of this kind must be sound in argument, well intentioned and factual. We must analyze the specific and historical conditions underlying the mistakes committed by these comrades. Instead of investigating who should be held responsible, we should pay special attention to helping these comrades understand the reasons for their mistakes and find the correct way to correct their mistakes. We must proceed from the desire for unity, enthusiastically hold heart-to-heart talks with them and carry out meticulous ideological work. As long as they are truly willing to mend their ways and have made self-criticism, we should extend our welcome to them. Toward those who fail to raise their level of understanding or those who become confused again after raising their understanding, we should persistently observe and help them and wait for their awakening. Chairman Mao taught us this fine tradition: "Treating with good will those who have erred will win general approval and unite people." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") We must revive our party's consistent practice of allowing comrades to make mistakes and to correct them. On no account must we create an atmosphere in which no one is allowed to make mistakes and anyone who does so will never be allowed to stand up again.

To the erring comrades, the resolution of inner-party contradictions by means of rectification involves the issue of attitude. This means that they must correctly deal with the education and help of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, correctly treat the criticism and help of the masses and correctly treat their own mistakes. If we make mistakes, we must have the courage to admit our wrongs, make self-criticism on our own initiative, encourage others to make criticism and humbly listen to their opinions. We must not hide our sickness for fear of treatment and gloss over our faults, much less keep the lid down and suppress criticism by the masses. If we find ourselves being led by the nose, we must quickly come to our senses and become active rather than passive. Chairman Mao taught us: "We are revolutionaries. If we have really made mistakes, mistakes which are harmful to the cause of the party and the people, we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and criticize ourselves. Such self-criticism should sometimes be repeated several times. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, it should be done a second time; if they are still not satisfied, then it should be done a third time; it should go on until nobody has any more criticisms." ("Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee") All erring comrades, particularly those who have made mistakes but still refuse to admit their wrongs, should study Chairman Mao's teaching again, correctly orient their attitude, draw a clear line of demarcation with the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in thinking and in action and quickly catch up with the pace of the whole party and the people of the whole country.

The present struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" in connection with the criticism of Lin Piao also involves the implementation of our party's cadre policy. This is an important issue pertaining to the strengthening of party unity. We must adhere to Chairman Mao's teachings and rectify all mistakes. If we are completely wrong, we must make a complete correction; if we are partially wrong, we must make a partial correction; if we are not wrong, then we do not have to make any correction. All unjust and trumped-up cases must be reversed. In handling cases we must lay stress on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study and complete the investigations one at a time in accordance with party policy. Toward those who were hoodwinked into committing serious mistakes, we must pay special attention to ideological education and not trace personal responsibility. Toward those cadres and masses who were harmed, we must properly redress them and guide them to look to the future and take the interests of the whole nation into account. All our cadres, particularly leading cadres, must have the correct attitude toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses and themselves. We must firmly grasp the general orientation in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in connection with the criticism of Lin Piao and not squabble endlessly over old scores. In short, we must adhere to the line set by the 11th party congress and act in accordance with the general and specific policies formulated by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. Only in this way can we properly implement the cadre policy and achieve the goal of strengthening party unity.

#### Consciously Safeguard and Strengthen Party Unity

Party unity is an important indication that our party is flourishing. The history of the continuous growth of our party over the past decades has time and again proven that when the unity of our party is strengthened, our party flourishes and the revolution forges ahead; when the unity of our party is sabotaged, our party's strength is sapped and the revolution suffers setbacks. Every one of our comrades must realize that party unity and the unity of the party with the people are invaluable assets with which we overcome difficulties and win victories--they are the basic guarantees for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period. It is the solemn responsibility of every communist to consciously safeguard and strengthen party unity and the unity of the party with the people.

For years Lin Piao and the "gang of four" went all out in practicing splittism, sabotaging unity and creating confusion in the party, the army and the whole country. As a result of the grave damage they did, we all suffered great hardships. Having smashed the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua grasped the key link of class struggle in running the country and brought about the stability and unity envisaged by Chairman Mao. This stability and unity created favorable conditions for us to work vigorously to make quick progress and to speed up the tempo of socialist modernization. We must soberly perceive that

the present fine situation of stability and unity was attained with great difficulty. Every comrade must treasure and cherish this stability and unity. On the basis of the line set by the 11th party congress, we must safeguard and strengthen party unity and develop the fine situation. This is the popular wish of the party, the army and the people. We must constantly raise our consciousness in strengthening unity, refrain from saying or doing things which are detrimental to unity and boldly and skillfully wage struggle against anything that impairs unity.

Constantly strengthening the unity of leadership cores at all levels has special significance in our efforts to strengthen party unity and the unity of the party with the people. Leading cadres must uphold Chairman Mao's basic principle, "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and do not split; be open and aboveboard, and do not intrigue and conspire." They must keep the whole situation in mind, pay due attention to party spirit and principle, observe discipline and be models in safeguarding unity. Comrades must exchange information among themselves, learn from, understand and support each other, overcome their own weak points by learning from each other's strong points and forge closer ties of friendship. They must not fuss over personal grudges and vie with one another for higher positions. They must look ahead and concentrate all their hatred on Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They must set an example with their own conduct, make a greater effort to study, heighten their political consciousness, raise their scientific and cultural levels and enhance their art of leadership. With a leadership core which fights in unity, we can certainly lead the masses of party members and the people in marching toward our goal and win new victories.

Lenin once pointed out: To insure inner-party unity, it is essential to achieve unanimity on the questions of party programs and tactics. However, this condition alone is not enough. The whole party must observe the party constitution and the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority and the part to the whole. Chairman Mao also pointed out: "We shall solidly unite all the forces of our party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline." ("On Coalition Government") These statements tell us how important it is to conscientiously practice democratic centralism, strengthen the sense of organization and discipline and cautiously handle important questions of principle, particularly questions pertaining to the whole situation, in insuring the solid unity of our party.

Unity is strength, unity is victory. As long as the whole party constantly strengthens unity on the basis of the line set by the 11th party congress, we can certainly further consolidate and develop the present fine situation, speed up the pace of the four modernizations and quickly enable our great socialist motherland to grow prosperous and strong.

## THE 'GANG OF FOUR' ARE FEROCIOUS ENEMIES OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

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[Article by Chin Chi [2516 2813]]

[Text] The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" were a counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique which practiced revisionism under the cloak of Marxist theory. They did their best to disguise themselves as supporters of Mao Tsetung Thought and tried every trick to mislead the public. Adopting various abominable tactics and spreading numerous rumors, they proceeded from the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism to wildly attack, distort and tamper with Mao Tsetung Thought in every way. In particular, they ruthlessly trampled on the most important fruit of Marxism of the present era--Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I. They separated Mao Tsetung Thought from Marxism-Leninism, put them in opposite positions and denied that Mao Tsetung Thought is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism.

For many years the "gang of four" worked hand in glove with Lin Piao. Flaunting the flag of encouraging the study of Chairman Mao's works, they opposed studying Marxist-Leninist works and charged that encouragement of the study of Marxism-Leninism and the conscientious study of Marxist-Leninist works meant disapproval of the study of Mao Tsetung Thought. Did they really want people to study Chairman Mao's works? No! They had an ulterior purpose. Mao Tsetung Thought is a direct continuation of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a unified theoretical system of the proletariat. To master and apply this theoretical system completely and accurately, we must conscientiously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Once we conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist works and learn more about Marxism-Leninism, we can have a better grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought and understand more clearly how Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, if we conscientiously read Chairman Mao's works and learn

more about Mao Tsetung Thought, we can study and better understand Marxist-Leninist works and have a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism. Very obviously, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" separated Mao Tsetung Thought from Marxism-Leninism and put them in opposite positions. Their sinister intention was to negate Marxism-Leninism, to deny that Mao Tsetung Thought is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism and, subsequently, to negate Mao Tsetung Thought completely.

The "gang of four" denied that Mao Tsetung Thought is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism. Yet they babbled that Mao Tsetung Thought inherited a feudal autocratic Legalist thinking. Chiang Ching said: Mao Tsetung Thought has "mainly inherited the Legalist things in the cultural legacy." This was a malicious vilification of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought is an ideological system of communism and the newest asset in the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is the beacon guiding the Chinese people in carrying out the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and construction. It is a powerful ideological weapon for the people of the world in opposing social imperialism, imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, and for communists in opposing revisionism and dogmatism. It has nothing in common with the feudal autocratic thinking of the landlord class. It has assimilated the essence of the cultural legacy of the Chinese nation. However, this essence is absolutely not "mainly the Legalist things" as Chiang Ching said, but is chiefly the brilliant culture created by the working people. The "gang of four" babbled that the legacy inherited by Mao Tsetung Thought was "mainly the Legalist things." Actually, they wanted to deny that Mao Tsetung Thought is a theory of the proletarian revolution and to vilify Mao Tsetung Thought as feudal autocratic thinking.

The "gang of four" always advocated total negation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chang Chun-chiao said: "This thing," i.e., classical Marxist works, "can be used as an atomic or hydrogen bomb to frighten people." This was shameless slander! Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the theory elucidated by classical Marxist works, is the most powerful weapon to guide the proletarian revolution. Once it is grasped by the masses it can play the great role of mobilizing, organizing and remolding the masses and generate a powerful material force to push society forward. The "gang of four" negated this great role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They utterly feared that the masses of people would grasp this powerful ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. However, what Chang Chun-chiao said was a vivid portrayal of the ugly features of counterrevolutionary political swindlers like the "gang of four," who extracted fragmented words and phrases from the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao to "frighten people."

By hating and opposing Mao Tsetung Thought in this way, the "gang of four" showed their counterrevolutionary nature and intentions, which were to topple our great leader Chairman Mao, completely overthrow the

Communist Party of China, change the socialist system of our country, which is under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism. Gnashing his teeth, Chang Chun-chiao said: "It seemed that the pig-tailed marshal was the main root of restoration. However, could the dethroned emperor or the entire old system be the chieftain of the pig-tailed party?" The spearhead of these sinister counterrevolutionary words was pointed at Chairman Mao, our party and the socialist system. Here the "gang of four" took the words of revenge and restoration out of the mouths of all reactionaries who had been defeated by the Chinese people during the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

To cover up their natural features of opposing Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought, the "gang of four" did their best to disguise themselves as supporters of Mao Tsetung Thought and to concoct phrases to "eulogize" Mao Tsetung Thought. Did they not collaborate with renegade and traitor Lin Biao in trumpeting the "acme" theory? But the "acme" theory was itself an absurdity and was against Mao Tsetung Thought. Their fallacy of depicting Mao Tsetung Thought as something rigid and unchangeable was goods of the same brand as Liu Shao-chi's clamor depicting Marxism-Leninism as something rigid and unchangeable. They let metaphysics run wild and fundamentally denied that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought develops continuously in the course of practice. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Marxism must necessarily advance; it must develop along with practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it were stagnant and stereotyped." Marxism itself involves the process of creation, enrichment and development. After Marx and Engels had passed away, Lenin, under the historical conditions of the imperialist era, summed up the new experiences of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, developed the Marxist theory and created Leninism. In the half century after that, Chairman Mao--in the course of struggling against imperialism and the reactionary classes at home and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center--combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Mao Tsetung Thought is a development of Marxism-Leninism. Similarly, Mao Tsetung Thought took shape and was enriched and developed in the course of revolutionary practice. Following the passing of Chairman Mao, the thought named after him will also develop along with practice. The movement of change in the objective world will never end, and man's knowledge of truth in the course of practice also will never end. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has not put an end to truth but has continuously opened up the road of knowing the truth in the course of practice. Therefore, Marxists must combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the revolution and go on summing up new experiences and using them to enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The "gang of four" denied that Mao Tsetung Thought develops along with practice and turned Mao Tsetung Thought into something rigid and unchangeable. They

completely split the organic relationship between Mao Tsetung Thought and practice, negated the great role of Mao Tsetung Thought in guiding revolution and construction and negated the boundless vitality of Mao Tsetung Thought.

We can here see that the "gang of four" at one moment overtly attacked and opposed Mao Tsetung Thought and at another moment verbally clamored for "supporting Mao Tsetung Thought" while actually attacking and opposing the most important and essential parts of Mao Tsetung Thought. That is to say, the "gang of four" adopted variable tactics, being right at one moment but "left" at another. However, their revisionist nature of opposing Mao Tsetung Thought remained unchanged.

II. They altered the basic principle of Mao Tsetung Thought on the pretext of so-called "new changes."

This was a major tactic adopted by the "gang of four" in opposing Mao Tsetung Thought. As we all know, the "gang of four" took the so-called "new changes in the relations between classes during the socialist period" as an excuse to wantonly attack and tamper with Chairman Mao's analysis of the classes in Chinese society during the socialist period. Chang Chun-chiao said: "Seemingly, there is no article which clearly analyzes the differentiation of the classes and strata in the socialist society." "After studying Chairman Mao's 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society,' I still do not know much about classes in Chinese society." This was a sheer lie.

Facts proved to the contrary. In his article "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," Chairman Mao made a scientific analysis of the conditions of different classes in our country and provided our party with reliable data to chart the strategy and tactics for the new democratic revolution. As a result of the new democratic revolution, which lasted more than two decades, the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in our country was overthrown, and a socialist state was built under the leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the worker-peasant alliance. The proletariat ceased to be dominated and became the ruling class, while the landlord and bourgeois classes changed from the ruling classes to the dominated ones. Class relationships went through a fundamental change. However, Chairman Mao's basic thought in this article and his method of analyzing the classes in Chinese society in light of their economic status and their attitude toward the revolution still have irrefutable significance in guiding us to observe and analyze the conditions of various classes in Chinese society during the socialist period. Around the time of the nationwide liberation, various new conditions emerged, along with the development of revolutionary practice. In a series of works, including the report to the second plenary session of the Seventh Central Committee of the party, "On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture," the speech to the second plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of

the party, "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution," "Have Firm Faith in the Majority of the People," "Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the CCP" and the speech at the tenth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party, as well as in a series of instructions given during the socialist education movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao applied the material-dialectical law of unity of opposites and made a scientific analysis of the conditions of the classes in Chinese society during the socialist period, particularly the conditions of the classes in our country after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production had mainly been completed. He touched on the following points:

1. The socialist society covers a considerably long period of time in history. Throughout the socialist period there will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles, struggles between the socialist and capitalist roads, and the danger of capitalist restoration.
2. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist road are the major contradictions in a socialist society. The socialist revolution is a struggle waged by the working people led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, with the spearhead pointed at the bourgeoisie.
3. The working class is the most advanced class and is the leading class. Our party must rely on the working class wholeheartedly. The poor and lower-middle peasants who are semiproletarians are determined to take the socialist road. They are the most reliable ally of the working class and a reliable force of the party in the countryside. The new and old well-to-do middle peasants are a wavering group. A considerably large number of them are seriously imbued with a spontaneous tendency toward capitalism. The national bourgeoisie is an exploiting class whose contradiction with the working class is antagonistic by nature. Most of its members are willing to accept socialist transformation and can be transformed. Only a small number of them are determined opponents of socialism. The rich peasants are the bourgeoisie in the countryside. The landlords and the compradore bourgeoisie are exploiting classes which have been overthrown. They are a force against socialism and the object of dictatorship in a proletarian state. Through education and transformation, however, they have been divided, and some of them are not entirely against socialism.

The intellectuals do not form a class. They are attached to a given social class. The majority of them are willing to unite with the workers and peasants and do so in practice. They actively serve socialism.

4. Newborn bourgeois elements will continue to emerge in a socialist society. They are the most unbridled part of the capitalist forces in cities and the countryside. They must be put under the dictatorship without fail.

5. Class struggle in society is invariably reflected in the party. This will give rise to those in power taking the capitalist road in the party. However, the capitalist roaders are in the minority. Among the people who have committed the mistake of taking the capitalist road, a small number are diehards, while the majority may be educated to correct their mistake. The small number of unrepentant capitalist roaders pose a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. They pose the main danger of capitalist restoration.

6. Two qualitatively different contradictions exist in a socialist society. Some of the contradictions are of the nature of a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, while most of them are of the nature of a contradiction among the people. The enemies opposing socialism are always a minority. Over 95 percent of the people support socialism. The overwhelming majority of the cadres are good, as are the overwhelming majority of the masses. It is necessary to unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses.

The course of development of the socialist revolution and the practice of class struggle in our country have fully proven that the analysis made by Chairman Mao is entirely correct. Chairman Mao's analysis has theoretically and systematically solved the problems regarding the nature, the motive force and the object of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a major development of the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theory of class struggle is the basis of the entire theory and strategy of the proletarian political party. The proletarian political party will be capable of leading and winning the revolution provided it applies the method of class analysis, understands the political and economic conditions of all classes in society, sees the historical changes and trends of all classes, has a clear picture of the relations among all classes, correctly estimates the revolutionary struggle, clearly distinguishes friends from enemies in the course of struggle, and correctly formulates strategies and tactics. Precisely for this reason, the new and old revisionists are particularly interested in opposing the Marxist theory of class struggle and the use of class analysis to analyze and study society's past and present conditions. The "gang of four" are no exception. No wonder they were particularly interested in attacking Chairman Mao's analysis of the conditions of the classes in Chinese society during the socialist period.

Chairman Mao's analysis was clear enough. But the "gang of four" insistently said that it was not clear and did not solve the problem of "relations among classes during the socialist period." What was their

"clear analysis" of the so-called "new changes" all about, then? They held that veteran cadres became "capitalist roaders," veteran workers turned into "people with vested interests," young workers were "worse," poor and lower-middle peasants "lagged behind ideologically" in carrying out the socialist revolution, intellectuals became "the stinking ninth category," while landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, freaks and monsters, political careerists, renegades, newborn counterrevolutionaries, rascals and smash-and-grabbers were "advanced elements" who should be relied upon. They assigned Chang Chun-chiao to write a book on "the analysis of classes in China during the socialist period" "for use as the basis of future policies." In their eyes, this analysis would be very "clear." But their "clear" analysis of these kinds of "new changes" was fundamentally incompatible with the actual conditions of the classes in Chinese society and was completely against Marxism! Since the founding of new China, especially since the completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production, our country has experienced numerous great political movements. Class forces have gone through a big change, but the basic relations among classes in Chinese society have not changed. The gang's criminal purpose in fabricating these "new changes" was to substitute their counterrevolutionary theory, i.e., the so-called "Chang Chun-chiao thought," for Mao Tsetung Thought, to provide "data" to exercise fascist dictatorship over the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and over the broad masses of cadres and intellectuals and, in particular, to provide "data" for them to topple a large group of veteran cadres at the central and local levels, usurp party and state power and restore capitalism.

The "gang of four's" trick of tampering with the basic principle of Mao Tsetung Thought on the pretext of "new changes" is not strange at all. In "revising" Marxism-Leninism the new and old revisionists usually adopted the method of changing basic Marxist-Leninist principle under the pretext of "new conditions" and "new materials." The old revisionists of the Second International tried to swindle the masses with the so-called "new materials obtained in the course of economic development" and robbed Marxism of its revolutionary soul. Modern revisionists represented by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique confused people with certain "new materials" concerning historical development and tried to destroy the revolutionary Marxist theory. The "gang of four," Bernstein, Kautsky, Khrushchev and Brezhnev repeated the same trick in different shapes and under different conditions. Lenin said: "Advancing along the road of Marxist theory, we shall come closer and closer to objective truth (but we can never exhaust it); if we advance by any other road, we shall gain nothing but confusion and errors." The "gang of four" followed a completely revisionist road. The conclusion they drew would of course be totally absurd.

III. They distorted the original meaning of Chairman Mao's instructions and peddled counterrevolutionary revisionist trash.

The "gang of four" distorted Chairman Mao's instructions about criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. They did not criticize Lin Piao but pretended to criticize Confucius and pointed the spearhead at Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Vice Chairman Yeh. They distorted Chairman Mao's assertions on the question of capitalist roaders and peddled their counterrevolutionary political program, which equated "veteran cadres with 'democrats' and 'democrats' with 'capitalist roaders.'" They distorted Chairman Mao's instructions on criticizing and commenting on "Water Margin" and peddled their reactionary "theory of making a figurehead." These things are known to everybody. We just want to emphatically analyze the question of how the "gang of four" distorted Chairman Mao's instructions and stirred up the adverse current of opposing so-called "empiricism."

At a 1 March 1975 meeting of directors of political departments of various major PLA units, Chang Chun-chiao read a letter by Chairman Mao recommending two books for study in 1959 when criticism of the Peng Te-huai antiparty clique was underway. He then lavishly talked about empiricism as the main danger at that time. He also proposed taking the fight against empiricism as the "program." On the same day Yao Wen-yuan, in his sinister article "On Basis," said: "During the struggle against the Peng Te-huai antiparty clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that 'empiricism is the current main danger,' so that we would study conscientiously. Chairman Mao has reiterated this opinion time and again in the past decade." Chiang Ching followed immediately: "We should now act on Chairman Mao's teachings and open our eyes so that we can see clearly and maintain high vigilance against the danger of empiricism. Empiricism is an accomplice of revisionism and a formidable enemy confronting us." Wang Hung-wen clamored: Those who practice "empiricism" "are capitalist roaders. It takes 10 years to see whether they will repent or not."

These sinister words of the "gang of four" were full of distortion, lies, conspiracy and tricks.

First, was the empiricism mentioned by Chairman Mao while criticizing Peng Te-huai the same as the so-called "empiricism" opposed by the "gang of four"? No!

Let us first see what the so-called "empiricism" opposed by the "gang of four" was. They babbled: The veteran cadres "had only the experience of the Long March and of fighting Japan" and "did not have the persistence to carry out the socialist revolution and struggle against capitalist roaders." The veteran cadres' experience "was the experience of restoration and regression. Viewed in the less favorable light of the experience of the bourgeois democratic revolution, their experience had no real

significance, but they still took it as feathers in their caps." The veteran cadres "prided themselves on having a long history of struggle and had deep faith in their old experience." The veteran cadres "stuck to their incomplete experience, gave commands in all work and turned a deaf ear to the opinions of others." The veteran cadres "had neither a clear orientation nor a far-reaching goal, stuck to old methods and followed the beaten track." Very obviously, the "empiricism" opposed by the "gang of four" was actually the practical experience our party had gained in the past few decades by leading the people through the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Let us also see what was meant by the empiricism which Chairman Mao mentioned while criticizing Peng Te-huai in 1959. At the Lushan conference the Peng Te-huai antiparty clique launched a wild attack on our party and on the general line, the Big Leap Forward and the people's communes. After smashing the attack of the Peng Te-huai antiparty clique, Chairman Mao sent a letter on 15 August to the comrades at the conference recommending two books for them to study. He said: Formerly we criticized dogmatism theoretically but we did not criticize empiricism. Empiricism is the main current danger. We must fight it now. We should defeat the antiparty, anti-Marxist ideas in three fields, i.e., the ideological, political and economic ones. The ideological field means the theoretical field. In a speech delivered at that time, Chairman Mao pointed out that the purpose of bringing up the question of empiricism was to analyze--through the prism of world outlook and methodology--the root cause of Peng Te-huai's right opportunism. He added: Peng Te-huai's world outlook and methodology do not conform with Marxism and are contrary to Marxism; they do not conform with dialectical materialism and historical materialism and reflect the subjective, idealist empiricism which Lenin had criticized previously. This empiricism has many sects. In Austria and Germany there is Machism; in Russia there are the God-seeking theory, the God-creating theory and empiriomonism; in the United States there is experimentalism, which is also called pragmatism or instrumentalism. Very obviously, what Chairman Mao mentioned here was subjective idealist empiricism, which is a type of revisionism in philosophy, and not any other "empiricism."

The history of our party's struggle and the course of development of the Chinese revolution have proven that Chairman Mao's instructions on the criticism of Peng Te-huai's empiricism were entirely correct. At that time, without criticizing Peng Te-huai's subjective idealist world outlook and methodology it would have been impossible to defend the party's general line, the Big Leap Forward and the people's communes. The "gang of four" completely distorted the original meaning of Chairman Mao's instructions. They were not against subjective idealist empiricism. Instead, flaunting the flag of opposing "empiricism" they fundamentally negated practical experience. The broad masses of our veteran cadres summed up their experiences under the guidance of the Marxist theory

after repeatedly going through the practice of revolutionary struggle, production and construction in several decades. They gained their experiences by shedding much of their blood and doing a great deal of hard work. Their experiences were tested in many battles during war-time and in difficult conditions in national reconstruction during peacetime. Their experiences are our party's valuable assets. How could they be branded as "empiricism"? What else should we depend on in doing our work if we do not depend on these experiences? The "gang of four" negated these valuable experiences and branded the large group of experienced veteran cadres as "empiricists" and as "democrats" or "capitalist roaders" who "opposed the socialist revolution." This showed exactly that they were ultrareactionary politically and that their world outlook and methodology were idealistic. Chairman Mao said: In my opinion, those who criticize empiricism are empiricists themselves. This pointed out that, as Peng Te-huai had done, the "gang of four" upheld the subjective idealist world outlook and methodology. The "gang of four" were a group of reactionary, extremely subjective idealists.

Secondly, did Chairman Mao reiterate time and again in the past decade "the opinion" that "empiricism is the main current danger"? No!

As we know, from the time of the Lushan conference to the time when the "gang of four" wildly opposed so-called "empiricism," Chairman Mao took into consideration the actual conditions of class struggle at home and abroad and emphatically pointed out time and again that revisionism was the main current danger and that we should be vigilant against revisionism.

In February 1957 Chairman Mao pointed out in his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People": "Revisionism, or right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism."

In January 1962 Chairman Mao pointed out at the enlarged working conference convened by the CCP Central Committee: "And what will happen to our country if we fail to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a revisionist state, indeed a bourgeois state; the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that. This is a question which very much deserves our vigilance, and I hope our comrades will give it a good deal of thought."

In May 1963 Chairman Mao pointed out: If we do not carry out the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur. The Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color."

In September 1965 Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk at a working conference of the CCP Central Committee: "Guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our party." "What will you do if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee of our party? This is highly probable, and it presents the greatest danger."

From 1971 onward Chairman Mao touched many times on the three basic principles, i.e., "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."

By the end of 1974, i.e., when the "gang of four" wildly carried out conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power and frenziedly took advantage of the convocation of the second plenary session of the 10th Central Committee of the party and the Fourth NPC to form their "cabinet," Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

Where in his instructions did Chairman Mao say that "empiricism is the main danger"? The "gang of four" distorted the instructions Chairman Mao gave in 1959. They also fabricated the lie that "Chairman Mao reiterated this opinion time and again" "in the past decade" and tried to swindle the masses in order to realize their conspiracy. Here they adopted the counterrevolutionary strategy of pretending to take the offensive in order to hide their intention of assuming the defensive. When Chairman Mao pointed out their intention of practicing revisionism, they were scared and plotted the scheme of stirring up the nationwide adverse current of opposing so-called "empiricism" step by step. They wanted to boycott and undermine the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism, so they launched an unbridled attack on the party. Using the public media, such as newspapers and magazines in their control, they wildly denounced "empiricism." Editorials, articles and news reports carrying their denunciation were published in profusion. They wrote numerous counterrevolutionary articles maliciously attacking Premier Chou and Vice Chairman Yeh by innuendo. Taking the criticism of "empiricism" as an excuse, they wanted to topple a large group of veteran cadres who had joined in the revolution long ago and had acquired practical experience. They did not even spare the old workers and old peasants. They ranted: "Empiricism is a stumbling block to the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and a formidable enemy of the revolution. It is imperative to defeat this formidable enemy." Their counterrevolutionary arrogance surged. Chairman Mao promptly discovered their sinister plot and gave important instructions criticizing them. However, they refused to repent. They opposed Chairman Mao's instructions overtly and covertly and continued to oppose "empiricism" until their complete downfall.

IV. They vilified Chairman Mao's instructions as "rumors" and attacked and criticized them under the pretext of "we have never heard of them."

People can still clearly remember that, when tracking down the so-called "political rumors," the "gang of four" recklessly branded as "rumors" and attacked and criticized Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of literature and art and his instruction that "the 'ninth category' mustn't quit." Chairman Mao's instruction on "developing the national economy" was also branded as "rumor" and was negated and maliciously attacked by the "gang of four."

In 1976 Chiang Ching clamored many times: "I never heard the chairman talk about developing the national economy." "Chairman Mao has never talked about developing the national economy. It is a sheer rumor. It has been fabricated by the managing director of the rumor company."

This was a gross absurdity and sheer lie. Was it possible that what you had not heard of could not be regarded as Chairman Mao's instructions? Should Chairman Mao's instructions be ratified by you? This was utterly preposterous! Furthermore, who, after all, was spreading rumors, you or somebody else? Ironclad facts showed that it was none but the "gang of four" who had shamelessly spread rumors.

"Develop the national economy." This was an important instruction given by Chairman Mao when he talked with Comrades Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing in November 1974. Comrade Li Hsien-nien transmitted this instruction to a conference of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, and the "gang of four" heard it. Scrutinized by Chairman Mao, the 1975 Document No. 4 of the party Central Committee also transmitted this instruction to the entire party. And the "gang of four" were aware of this. They knew the whole thing and yet told lies to deceive the masses by saying that they had "never heard of it." They even charged others with spreading rumors and wildly attacked and framed Premier Chou, Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Teng and other responsible comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council. They were utterly despicable and shameless!

The "gang of four" called Chairman Mao's instruction a "rumor" and wildly attacked it. They babbled: "'Develop the national economy.' All countries in the world say this. There is no country that does not want to develop its economy. This is a revisionist slogan acceptable to any country." They vilified implementation of Chairman Mao's instruction and the movement to grasp revolution and promote production, to realize the "four modernizations" and to develop the socialist economy as advocating the "theory of productive forces" and as "luring people into taking the capitalist sidetrack and working for the comeback of the bourgeoisie." This was an utter vilification of Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought.

May we ask:

What will the more than 800 million Chinese people eat if we do not develop the national economy? Will they feed themselves on air? Ours is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat and works for the interests of the broad masses of people. Doubtlessly we must insure the availability of daily necessities for the people and gradually and generally improve the people's life by developing production.

If we do not develop the national economy, how shall we strengthen our national defense and effectively defend our socialist motherland? Should we just wait for social imperialism and imperialism to deal blows against us? We must speedily develop our national economy, vigorously strengthen our national defense and build the PLA as quickly as possible into a more powerful and modern army with high proletarian consciousness and capable of meeting a war of aggression which social imperialism and imperialism may launch.

If we do not develop the national economy, how can there be a solid material foundation for our socialist political and economic systems, and how can these systems be consolidated, improved and developed with each passing day? Material production is the ultimate factor deciding socialist development. Lenin pointed out: "A large-scale machine-building industry is the only possible economic basis for socialism. Whoever forgets this point is not a communist." He added: "In the final analysis, productivity of labor is the most important and vital thing guaranteeing the victory of the new social system."

Only when we have developed the productive forces in society on a broader scale, built a modern machine-building industry on a big scale and accomplished mechanization and electrification in agricultural production can we have a solid material foundation for our socialist system and continuously consolidate, improve and develop the socialist relations of production and the superstructure. This is an extraordinarily important point in our country, which has an agricultural population of 700 million people. From a long-term point of view, to eliminate classes and the three major differences between town and country, worker and peasant and mental and manual labor, to finally defeat capitalism, to achieve the final victory of socialism and to pass over to the socialist society, it is still more necessary for us to greatly develop the social productive forces and to secure an extremely bounteous supply of social products.

Chairman Mao repeatedly and incisively expounded on the dialectical relationship between revolution and production. He regarded class struggle and the struggles for production and scientific experiment as the three major revolutionary movements for building a powerful socialist country. He stressed that the purpose of the socialist revolution is to liberate productive forces, and that one of the basic tasks of the

dictatorship of the proletariat is to vigorously develop the socialist economy. The continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the socialist modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. We must perseveringly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and put revolutionization in command of modernization. Chairman Mao charted a complete set of line and specific and general policies for us to build the socialist economy, and he put forward the two great concepts for developing our national economy and realizing the "four modernizations" before the end of this century. In light of the fact that the "gang of four" had seriously undermined our national economy and caused a standstill in industrial and agricultural production, Chairman Mao stressed the necessity of "developing the national economy," thereby demonstrating his consistent Marxist thinking. The "gang of four" maliciously attacked Chairman Mao's instruction and the "four modernizations." This precisely exposed their reactionary nature of opposing Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought, exposed their ugly features of taking no heed of the well-being of the people and the safety of the country and their traitorous and capitulationist features, and exposed their wild ambitions to upset production and disrupt socialist economic construction, to undermine the socialist revolution, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Examples of the "gang of four" wildly opposing Mao Tsetung Thought defy counting. Their abominable tactics of distorting, tampering with and attacking Mao Tsetung Thought were many and varied. The facts mentioned above serve to demonstrate that the "gang of four" were a group of ruthless counterrevolutionary conspirators who were the most ferocious enemies of Mao Tsetung Thought; they adopted both right and "left" tactics in opposing Mao Tsetung Thought, and these tactics can be summed up as reactionary pragmatism and chicanery. This was determined by their class nature. They were agents of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes in our party. It was quite natural that they wildly opposed Mao Tsetung Thought. However, they were feeble, were paper tigers, and did not have the strength to compete openly with Mao Tsetung Thought. Thus, they could only resort to conspiracy and tricks to mislead the public. They therefore flaunted the flag of "Mao Tsetung Thought," loudly shouted "revolutionary" phrases and did their best to disguise themselves as supporters of Mao Tsetung Thought. In this way they could swindle the people and be more cunning and unbridled in distorting, tampering with and opposing Mao Tsetung Thought. These tricks were not invented by the "gang of four." The old and new revisionists also played these tricks. The old revisionists of the Second International also flaunted the flag of "Marxism" when they most arrogantly "revised" Marxism in the most comprehensive way. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique flaunted the flag of "Leninism" when it wantonly distorted, tampered with and trampled on Leninist doctrines. No matter what flags the old and new revisionists flaunted and how they disguised themselves, they all came to complete

bankruptcy. The "gang of four" ran after their revisionist predecessors and played the same tricks. Similarly, they came to total bankruptcy.

Wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "The practice of countless revolutionary martyrs and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in our country and the practice of the international communist movement in the past five decades and more have repeatedly shown that Mao Tsetung Thought is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary science of the proletariat and an irrefutable truth. Ours is a big country with a population of 800 million people and a big party with more than 35 million members. To achieve unity in understanding, policy making, planning, command and action during the period of new development in socialist revolution and construction, we must completely and accurately master and apply Mao Tsetung Thought. The banner of Chairman Mao was and will continue to be our banner for fighting in unity and winning victory. Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' wantonly tampered with Mao Tsetung Thought and peddled their counterrevolutionary revisionist trash while flaunting the banner of Chairman Mao. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique wildly attacked Mao Tsetung Thought in a frenzied attempt to make us give up the banner of Chairman Mao. We must firmly defend Mao Tsetung Thought and hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao." Firmly defend Mao Tsetung Thought and forever hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao--this is the sacred duty of the whole party, the whole army and the Chinese people of all nationalities. This is where the fundamental interests of the whole party, the whole army and the Chinese people of all nationalities lie. We must follow the instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, thoroughly criticize the crimes of the "gang of four" in opposing Mao Tsetung Thought, diligently study Chairman Mao's works and comprehensively and accurately master and apply the system of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, doing all our work realistically and combining theory with practice. We must apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in analyzing the actual conditions in our country and solving problems of theory and practice under the new historical conditions of the revolution and construction in our country. We must fight to accomplish the general tasks of our party for the new period.

Let this ugly "gang of four" tremble before the great Mao Tsetung Thought! Illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought, we will advance more consciously, firmly and confidently!

## CHIH HENG CANNOT DENY HIS ATTACK ON PREMIER CHOU

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 73-75

[Article by No 109 Plant of the Chinese Academy of Sciences]

[Text] In the topsy-turvy counterrevolutionary chorus directed by the "gang of four," the notorious Chih Heng [3069 1854] set the tune and led the singing. In his many antiparty articles he pointed the spearhead at our revered and beloved Premier Chou and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. His serious crimes require a thorough liquidation.

When receiving the delegates of the scientific and technical front in the People's Auditorium in 1967, Premier Chou clearly pointed out: "The assessment of the scientific and technical field in the past 17 years must be performed by dividing 1 into 2. In the 17 years of struggle we followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in our general direction. It was a red line." Premier Chou's assessment of the 17 years of red line on the scientific and technical front correctly reflected the objective situation in the field and expressed what was in the minds of the broad masses of scientific and technical soldiers.

However, following the decree of Yao Wen-yuan and associating with Liang Hsiao [2733 2400], Chih Heng, the official tool of the "gang of four," published his antiparty black article "Counterattacking the Rightwing Reversal Trend in the Field of Science and Technology" in RED FLAG No 2, 1967, openly resisted Premier Chou, and ranted that, in the 17 years, the scientific and technical field "promoted a revisionist line" and, over a long period of time, "was occupied by the exploiting class...not any less so than was the field of education." Yao Wen-yuan, plotting with Chih Heng, fiercely clamored that the scientific and technical field "did not inspire much," thus laying a boobytrap for the scientific and technical personnel.

When revising the black article, he specifically added a black sentence which falsely charged that "many scientific research units were just like

the bourgeois intellectuals in monopolizing the world." When Hsiang Chuang brandished his sword, he had his eyes on Pei-kung. When Yao Wen-yuan and his official public opinion tool arbitrarily clamored that the field of science and technology, in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution, was a black line dictatorship, their criminal goal was to point the spearhead at Premier Chou, thus attempting to remove the big obstacle to their attempt to usurp the party and seize power. Publication of the black antiparty article immediately encountered the incomparable indignation of the broad masses of scientific and technical soldiers. A comrade of the Academy of Science immediately telephoned the editorial department of RED FLAG and pointed out that the assessment of the field of science and technology in the past 17 years in the black article was contrary to Premier Chou's views. Big chief Chih Heng took the reactionary standpoint, not only ignoring the protests of the readers but even falsely accusing them of representing "the trend of the class struggle" and clamoring for "heightened vigilance." The staff and workers of our plant recognized the black article as a poison arrow aimed at Premier Chou. We all felt a righteous wrath, sent delegates to post a slogan on the wall of the black den of the Chih gang, declared war on Liang Hsiao, the instigator of the black article, and proposed a face-to-face debate with them. With a guilty conscience, this group of rascals hid inside their black den, afraid to appear. They then tore off the slogan and recorded it in their black account.

In the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, that the scientific and technical front of China, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and his personal concern, and the personal leadership of Premier Chou, made tremendous achievements was undeniable. The record of development of our No 109 Plant also effectively refuted the shameless lies of those like Liang Hsiao and Chih Heng. In 1956 Premier Chou personally sponsored and formulated a long-range plan for scientific development, including such important research projects as atomic power and electronic computers, as emergency measures for the development of science and technology. Thus began a great onslaught on science and technology. No 109 Plant, named after "109" B, China's first transistor computer manufactured upon Premier Chou's personal approval, was the first semiconductor parts plant built in the Great Leap Forward years. From nothing to something, from small to big, the plant trial manufactured transistor diodes, triodes and integrated circuits, walking a glorious yet arduous road. When the plant was first built, the scientific and technical ranks were weak, as the majority of them came from the PLA units, at senior elementary school level, and only a few of them were specially trained with knowledge of semiconductors. In face of the difficulties, everyone said courageously: "We were slaves of the old society in the past. Today Chairman Mao and Premier Chou permit us to pursue scientific research, and we will work vigorously." The comrades made use of every minute and every second of their time to study culture and science, often forgoing sleep and meals to master a new skill, working through the night, giving up their Sundays, and devoting their whole

mind to work. Many comrades fought in an environment of harmful gases, with their hair turning yellow and brittle and falling off, but they paid no attention. Holding wet towels over their noses, they persevered in their work and developed the spirit of revolution plus exertion. The staff and workers adhered to Chairman Mao's policy of self-revitalization and diligent and thrifty building of the nation, overcame the difficulty of crude and simple equipment, rapidly developed the semiconductor industry, and repeatedly sent good news to Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. To make the semiconductor industry bloom in all areas of the nation, our plant trained large groups of specialized scientific and technical personnel and took in trainees from more than 10 provinces and municipalities. Many of them later became the backbone of the semiconductor electronics industry. In 1959 leading comrades such as Ho Lung [6320 7893], Hsiao Hua [5135 5478], and Chang Ai-ping [1728 1947 5493], bringing with them the intimate concern of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, came to inspect the plant. Entering the door, Comrade Ho Lung said to the staff and workers: "Chairman Mao asked us to come and see you. You are all Chairman Mao's good soldiers." The chiefs walked through all the workshops and shook hands with every staff member and worker, giving everyone great encouragement. The staff and workers converted the party Central Committee's concern and encouragement into a tremendous strength, battled even more strenuously, and rapidly and successfully trial manufactured the "germanium alloy diffusion triode" and assembled a transistor machine, and they reported the success to Yeh Chien-ying and Nieh Jung-chen, the two vice chairmen of the Military Commission. Vice Chairman Nieh commended them: "Very good. You must continue your effort." Thereafter, they successfully trial manufactured the "silicon plane transistor," film mixture components, and single semiconductor integrated circuits and mass-produced them, supplying the parts for China's first silicon transistor computer and first large general integrated circuit computer and the key parts for many crucial engineering projects. Had the revisionist line controlled our plant instead of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and had the exploiting class "monopolized" our plant instead of the broad masses of workers, could we have developed and matured so rapidly and made such achievements?

Always feeling an intimate concern, Premier Chou carefully guided China's scientific and technical work. His thoughts accompanied every step of our progress and every success we achieved. We were filled with a deep proletarian feeling for him. On 8 January 1976 our revered and beloved Premier Chou left this world forever. The hearts of the hundreds of million were broken, and the tears of grief covered the entire land of the nation. The people remembered the great achievements of his lifetime, recalled his great revolutionary spirit, and held all kinds of commemorative activities. Yet the "gang of four" rejoiced in other people's misfortunes. To give vent to their deep hatred for Premier Chou, they not only suppressed the commemorative activities of the hundreds of millions and utilized their public opinion tools to make insinuations against him, but also resorted to all means to persecute

the cadres and masses who grieved for him. Such outrageous conduct of the "gang of four" aroused the wrath of Heaven and the anger of the people. With hot tears in our eyes, we ignited the fire of hatred, pinned white flowers on our chests, emitted an angry roar, and made up our mind to fight the antiparty "gang of four" to the bitter end! At that time the revolutionary staff and workers of our No 109 Plant, with feelings of deep grief, meticulously made a wreath soaked with tears, expressing the boundless sadness of the scientific and technical soldiers for Premier Chou and the deep hatred of the worker class for the "gang of four." On the eve of Memorial Day, the revolutionary staff and workers of our plant held solemn activities in memory of Premier Chou. To express our anger at the "gang of four" and our determination to struggle against them, we also made four tall tablets of poetry, stating: "The red heart has borne the fruit of victory; the blue blood will make the revolutionary flower bloom again. If the devil should spit out poisonous fire again, someone will capture the goblin and hit the ghost." Seeing the poem in a tabloid, reactionary academic renegade Yao Wen-yuan waved his black pen and falsely charged: "To make the revolutionary flower bloom again is to resist the socialist revolution and counter the struggle against the right deviationist wind," and he fiercely clamored for "handling by the Public Security Ministry." Chih Heng followed the tune of his black master and ranted. He published the extremely reactionary black article "The Great Victory of the Proletarian Dictatorship" in RED FLAG No 5, 1976. This venomous article, which reversed black and white, was based on the "gang of four's" theory of "total dictatorship," i.e., fascist dictatorship, and it viciously slandered the just activities of the revolutionary people in commemorating Premier Chou and resisting the "gang of four" as a "counterrevolutionary riot similar to the Hungarian incident." It claimed that their ruthless suppression of the revolutionary people constituted smashing the "counterrevolutionary riot" with "a heavy blow by the iron fist of the proletarian dictatorship" and adding "fresh experience" to the enforcement of dictatorship. Let us spread out the facts imprinted with blood and tears and see at whom the spearhead of dictatorship was pointed and to which class the dictatorship belonged.

During the vociferous clamor emitted by Chih Heng and others, the followers of the "gang of four" in the Academy of Science and public security organs, when collecting data on the so-called "serious crimes" of the revolutionary masses, charged that our four tablets of poetry, "with a reactionary intent, viciously hinted at and attacked the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao," that the commemorative activities of our plant for Premier Chou were "a counterrevolutionary political case," that a part of the revolutionary masses of our plant was a "counterrevolutionary group," and that the revolutionary masses "planned the counterrevolutionary action with forethought, plan, and organization." Immediately thereafter they ferociously launched a ruthless suppression of the revolutionary masses and cadres of our plant and secretly arrested the comrade who wrote the poem. At the mass meeting of the Academy of Science they launched a criticism and struggle campaign

against a responsible comrade of our propaganda section and arrested and imprisoned him on the spot. Some other comrades were isolated and placed under supervision. The followers of the "gang of four" also declared that they would "further lift the cover of the class struggle of No 109 Plant," attempting to launch an even more cruel fascist bloody suppression. At that time, 14 percent of the comrades of our plant encountered political persecution on different charges. The followers of the "gang of four" inflicted bodily injury on them, abused their spirit, and threatened their families. One comrade underwent many investigations for chanting Chairman Mao's poem "Butterflies Love Flowers--in Answer to Li Shui-i" while working. The entire plant was engulfed in a white terror. It was a portrayal of the "great victory" spread by those like Chih Heng.

When the "gang of four" was in power, Chih Heng, relying on the might of his masters, could make any statement he wished. A member of the "gang of four's" official team, he was stationed in Peking. Did he not hear the sound of mourning for Premier Chou of the millions in the capital? Did he not see (or hear about) the melancholy yet noble scene of the millions commemorating Premier Chou? As he took the "gang of four's" reactionary standpoint and had a tacit understanding with Yao Wen-yuan in thinking and sentiment, the revolutionary activities of the millions in commemorating Premier Chou, under their pen, became a "counterrevolutionary riot," and the oath of the broad masses to defend Premier Chou even to the extent of "losing their lives and shedding blood" became "insanely pointing the spearhead directly at our great leader Chairman Mao." They hated to the extreme the commemoration of Premier Chou by the millions and were enraged by the resistance to the "gang of four," while praising the "gang of four's" ruthless suppression of the broad masses as "a great victory of the proletarian dictatorship." Yao Wen-yuan and his followers were truly "insane," "pointing their spearhead directly at our great leader Chairman Mao." Nevertheless, the dialectics of history is ruthless. Those who overturn history will finally be overturned. In our courageous struggle against the "gang of four," the revolutionary masses of our No 109 Plant and the entire nation are the righteous victors, while they are the unpardonable culprits of history.

"The fog breaks and the sky clears; the hundreds of millions of people rise." Our wise leader Chairman Hua led the entire party to smash the "gang of four" by one stroke, and No 109 Plant also gained liberation and recovered its revolutionary vitality. In the past 2 years, under the intimate concern of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we have intensively exposed and criticized the "gang of four," purged their remnant poison, and liberated our mind, and we are determined to continue to develop the spirit of revolution plus exertion and make new contributions to hastening the four modernizations.

6080

CSO: 4004

## REFUTING CHIH HENG'S FALLACIES OF OPPOSING THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 76-78

[Article by No 502 Institute of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building]

[Text] In the days when the "gang of four" was in power, Chih Heng [3069 1854], exclusively trained by Yao Wen-yuan, usurped RED FLAG, the theoretical battlefield, and created large numbers of counterrevolutionary articles in close coordination with each and every step of the "gang of four" in usurping the party and seizing power. "A General Outline To Restore Capitalism" (under the pen name of Cheng Yueh [4453 6390]), published by him in RED FLAG No 4, 1976, was an antiparty and antisocialist big poisonous weed.

In the article he began by criticizing "On the General Outline of the Tasks of the Entire Party and Entire Nation," which was an excellent article, vigorously attacked the four modernizations, slandered the great blueprint of building China into a great socialist modern power reiterated by Premier Chou at the Fourth National People's Congress in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions as a "general restoration of capitalism," and recklessly attacked and negated Vice Chairman Teng's apparent achievements in launching rectifications in all aspects for the purpose of implementing Chairman Mao's series of directives in the routine work of the central government. He resorted to the most despicable means, recklessly revised the fundamental principles of Marxism, placed the four modernizations and the party's basic principle and line on opposite sides, and ranted that realizing the four modernizations was to "discard the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship" and "thoroughly negate our party's basic principle." It was pure slander.

What is the party's basic principle? It is to persevere in the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship, gradually eliminate the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and overcome capitalism with socialism. The party's final goal is to realize communism. Its basic principle itself includes the development of the social production force

and the socialist economy. Marxism tells us that revolution is for the purpose of liberating the production force. After seizing political power and building a proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat must firmly suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes and consolidate its dictatorship in order to defend the socialist system; it must continue the revolution in production relations, production force, and various other realms and prosecute the socialist revolution to the end in order to consolidate, develop, and ceaselessly perfect the socialist system; meanwhile, it must reinforce socialist construction and vigorously develop the socialist economy in order to build a powerful material foundation for the socialist system. All these are for the purpose of further developing the production force under the socialist system, bringing about the final victory of socialism over capitalism, and creating conditions for the transition to communism when the classes will be eliminated. These constitute the unified historical mission in the stage of socialism. Lenin once pointed out: "After performing the task of seizing political power, with the general basic performance of the task of depriving the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, the fundamental task of creating a social economic system superior to the capitalist society must be promoted to the primary position; this fundamental task is to raise the labor production rate." ("The Current Task of Soviet Political Power," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 509) As for realizing communism, the gaps between the city and the village, between the worker and the peasant, and between physical and mental labor must be gradually eliminated. Thus, a greater development of the production force is required. Realizing the four modernizations is also for the purpose of strengthening national defense, in preparation for the aggression and invasion of social imperialism and imperialism. Chairman Mao once pointed out that, only when the social production force was relatively fully developed, would China's socialist economic and political systems be considered as having acquired their relatively complete material foundation and our state be considered as being fully consolidated. In his antiparty articles, Chih Heng elaborated on the party's basic line and principle and vigorously denied that realizing the four modernizations was the party's basic task. This precisely proved that he and the others were anti-Marxist political frauds.

Chih Heng's vigorous creation of public opinion against the four modernizations was entirely for the purpose of serving the "gang of four's" attempt to usurp the party and seize power, and it resulted in serious damage to socialist economic construction. We have a profound awareness of it. Ours was a unit which suffered deeply from Lin Piao and the "gang of four." For many years Lin Piao and the "gang of four" meddled in the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building and, through their agents in the ministry, stirred up bourgeois factionalism, provoked factional fights, promoted "you attack me; I attack you," and disrupted the order of scientific research and production. Not doing any work themselves, the "gang of four" and their agents wielded the big stick of the "theory of production force" and arbitrarily punished and indiscriminately accused

the broad masses of cadres and workers adhering to their production posts. If you tackled production, they would claim that you "suppressed the revolution with production" and turn around and accuse you of "sabotaging the revolution by sabotaging production," placing you in a dilemma. The leading cadres who firmly struggled against them were falsely labeled "capitalist roaders," "counterrevolutionaries," "renegades," or "special agents" and were ousted. Scientific and technical personnel were no exception. If you tackled production, they would say that you "buried your head to pull the cart, pulling it to Moscow." If you read books and studied technology, they would say that you followed the "White and expert road" and wanted to become a "spiritual aristocrat." As a result, you could not accomplish anything, and our scientific research and production unit enjoyed no peace for many years. Many of our scientific and technical personnel were trained after the founding of the new China. Filled with enthusiasm, they wanted to make their contributions to the development of science and technology and the building of a powerful socialist nation. Nevertheless, due to the interference of Lin Piao, the "gang of four," and their agents, they were unable to utilize their energy. Many felt a deep regret over the waste of their youth, and others sighed at the white hair in the mirror! We know that China was built on a poor and backward foundation, that the level of our production force is still very low, and that the gap remains great when compared with the advanced nations. Only by doubling our effort in developing science and technology and promoting production will our country become rich and powerful. However, the notorious Chih Heng disregarded the destiny of the party and the state and viciously attacked the four modernizations. This completely revealed that those like him were the faithful slaves and henchmen of the "gang of four."

In 1975, when Vice Chairman Teng was in charge of the daily routine of the central government, for the purpose of implementing Chairman Mao's directives and rectifying the chaos created by the sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" over a long period of time, he launched rectifications in all aspects in order to promote the four modernizations and made great achievements within a short time. Nevertheless, in his anti-party articles Chih Heng condemned the rectifications launched according to the directives of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and denounced them as "a total counterattack and a total restoration of capitalism." It was a vicious slander.

Why did the "gang of four" and their official tool Chih Heng hate and oppose rectification? The answer can be found in the situation of our unit. In the spring of 1975 Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee ordered a meeting to solve the issue of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building and sent an able leading cadre to launch a rectification in the ministry. The leading cadre penetrated the frontline, spread Chairman Mao's instructions among the masses, implemented the spirit of the documents of the central government, condemned bourgeois factionalism, rectified the order of scientific research and production, formulated

plans, proposed a clear goal of struggle, and won the enthusiastic support of the cadres and masses. The cadres and masses were encouraged, the factional backbone elements provoking splits were isolated, the small handful of undesirables violating law and discipline suffered a blow, the masses began to unite, and the order of scientific research and production began to return to normal. With the joint effort of our sister units we successfully studied and manufactured an important scientific research item. Everyone remarked in excitement: The rectification was excellent. There is hope for the great goal of realizing the four modernizations. The result of the rectification upset the "gang of four" and their agents. They hated and feared it to the extreme. From the end of 1975 on they retaliated by utilizing the power of the "gang of four," launched counterattacks, and arbitrarily claimed that criticizing bourgeois factionalism was "attacking the rebels" and "negating the Great Cultural Revolution"; they condemned rectification of the order of scientific research and production as promoting "control, strangling, and suppression" and "enforcing bourgeois dictatorship"; they accused the leading comrades implementing the directives of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee as "restoration fanatics" and "return-home group." Their perversity killed the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and severely damaged their positivity.

In January 1976 our revered and beloved Premier Chou left this world forever, and the whole country, from top to bottom, mourned. We will never forget the great effort he devoted to our scientific research work! In regard to our tasks, projects, and plans, he always carefully listened to the reports and gave instructions. When he heard that a certain project required an extension of time due to the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, he declared in distress: "Too late, too late!" His intimate concern left a permanent impression. In the revolutionary practice we saw how he waged a clear struggle against the "gang of four's" conspiracies and sabotage. We recognized who were the proletarian revolutionaries seeking the interest of the people and who the conspirators and aspirants bringing calamity to the nation and misfortune to the people; who pursued the socialist revolution and who the capitalist restoration. In the days when we sadly mourned Premier Chou we were unable to suppress our deep hatred for the "gang of four," and we yearned for our revered and beloved Premier Chou even more. Breaking through the layers of prohibitions of the "gang of four," the broad revolutionary masses of our unit visited the memorial to the people's heroes in Tienanmen Square, offered our wreaths, poems, and elegies, extolled Premier Chou, and denounced the "gang of four." For this we encountered the insane suppression of the "gang of four" and their agents. They denounced the masses who mourned Premier Chou as "counterrevolutionary" and condemned them by name, expelled them from the party, and isolated and arrested them, and some comrades even lost their lives in the persecution. At that time several thousand persons in the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building were under investigation, and hundreds were imprisoned, while the rascals, habitual thieves, smash-and-grabbers, criminal

elements, and individual aspirants to official posts were admitted to the party and promoted and placed in high positions. Truly, the human and the devil were turned upside down and the right and wrong confused. The actions of the "gang of four" and their agents served as a vivid negative political lesson and enabled us to see the condition of a capitalist restoration and fascist dictatorship. As clearly shown by the facts, they resisted rectification, because it would eliminate their social foundation to usurp the party and seize power and block the road to their restoration of capitalism. Thus, one can see that rectification according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is revolution, and only rectification denotes progress! Today we must successfully handle rectification in all aspects, build the fighting Red and expert scientific research ranks, purge the "gang of four's" remnant poison, and eliminate their evil results.

All the above instances prove that the slander of the "gang of four" and their spokesmen that our realization of the four modernizations was "total restoration" was extremely fallacious! It was completely the trick of the thief shouting "thief!" Appearing with an ultra-"leftwing" attitude, displaying an "antirestoration" banner, and loudly shouting the slogans of the basic line and the class struggle, they were actually the "restoration fanatics." The so-called "class struggle" they advocated was the most ruthless struggle waged by the exploiting class against the proletariat with a tenfold fanaticism and a hundredfold hatred. The so-called "total dictatorship" they advocated was the bourgeois fascist dictatorship enforced on the broad masses. They resisted rectification because they wished to continue to disrupt the entire nation and sabotage the national economy, in order to seize power in the chaos. At that time some of our comrades in the institute were enraged upon reading Chih Heng's antiparty articles. The moment we heard the name Chih Heng we felt repugnance. We did not want to read his muddled words. Chih Heng truly spoiled RED FLAG, the theoretical publication of our party Central Committee.

The bright sun arises out of the valley and the earth brightens; the dark fog is swept aside and the world becomes clear. Our wise leader Chairman Hua led the entire party to smash the "gang of four" by one stroke, and the people of China welcomed the springtime of realizing the socialist four modernizations! We firmly believe that, following the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and relying on the wisdom and two hands of the 800 million people, we will, within this century, turn the magnificent blueprint of the socialist four modernizations personally drawn by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou into a bright and dazzling reality on this great land!

6080

CSO: 4004

PAY ATTENTION TO SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF IMPURITY IN THE CADRES' STYLE OF WORK

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 3 Sep 78 pp 79-82

[Selected letters from readers]

[Text] Editor's Note: The letter from the Information Section of Li-tang Commune, I-cheng County, Hupeh Province, reported the problem of extravagance and embezzlement at Teng-chung Brigade. The editorial department of this publication sent someone to make an investigation together with the I-cheng County committee and found the situation to be true. After discovering the problem of Teng-chung Brigade, the party committee of Li-tang Commune adopted the method of organizing study and conscientious rectification and promptly launched education and handling. After education, the cadres committing mistakes raised their awareness and began to correct their mistakes by practical actions. The I-cheng County committee also made a firm decision to check the evil trend of extravagance and embezzlement and launched an intensive education among the cadres throughout the county. The Li-tang Commune and I-cheng County committees wrote the editorial department of this publication on the matter. We now publish the three letters and a short comment by Comrade Yang Kai-pao [2799 7030 1405] of Li-tang Commune in this issue.

We feel that it was excellent for the Li-tang Commune and I-cheng County committees to give attention to rectifying the incorrect trend in the rural cadres and to stress education. Currently, the problem of impure workstyle does exist in a considerable portion of the rural cadres. Besides the problem of extravagance and embezzlement there are also such problems as

falsification, coercion, blind direction, indifference to the difficulties of the masses, etc. These are concrete manifestations of the poison and influence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. Impure workstyle is a tremendous obstacle to implementing the party's policies, because it alienates the relations between the party and the masses and damages the socialist positivity of the broad peasants. Therefore, in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," attention must be given to solving the problem of impurity in the cadres' workstyle. Generally speaking, except for those who have seriously violated law and discipline, the problem of impurity in workstyle belongs to the category of internal contradictions among the people. In regard to such cadres we must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teaching, adopt the policy of punishment as a deterrent and curing the illness to save the patient, and help them correct their mistakes. By so doing we will protect the positivity of the cadres and masses while correcting the evil trend, thus leading the broad cadres and masses to the socialist path.

Letter from Information Section, Li-tang Commune

RED FLAG Editorial Department:

In recent years the four members of the party branch of Teng-chung Brigade, Li-tang Commune, I-cheng County, Hupeh Province, under the influence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, slackened their vigilance against the corrosion of the bourgeois ideological style and committed extravagance and embezzlement to undermine the party's superior tradition and workstyle.

The members of the brigade party branch acquired the habit of extravagant eating and drinking. When building houses, holding wedding ceremonies, applying for allocations, or arranging for their children's jobs, the commune members had to invite them to eat and drink, costing 10 yuan or more for a banquet table. They "parted their lips (drinking) and discarded principles; picking up the chopsticks, they would give you anything you asked for." Wishing to build a house, the former assistant leader of the 3d Team invited the four members of the party branch for dinner. Immediately he was allocated 200 catties of rice, 20 pine trees, and 1 big willow tree. The trees had a value of 200 yuan, but he was charged only 70 yuan. In 1976 and 1977 the assistant secretary of the party branch, with a wine cup in his hand, successively allocated 87 trees belonging to the collective to private individuals. If the upper beam is not straight, so is the lower beam, as a saying has it. When the brigade cadres took the lead to eat and drink extravagantly, others followed suit. The former leader of the 3d Team had dinner at almost

all the 35 households of the team, including the two households of landlord and rich peasant status. In August 1977, when Hsiaonanho reservoir turned on water for Teng-chung Brigade for irrigation, a production team of the adjacent Chunghsiang County invited the leader of the 3d Team to dinner, sold a hog to the state in his name in order to fulfill his assigned quota, and presented him with 4 catties of sesame oil. Thereupon, he decided to "show some communist spirit" and let that team have much of the water, while the ricefield of his own team was parched.

Embezzlement of public funds was also very serious with the members of the brigade party branch committee. An assistant secretary in charge of work bought three rooms from the production team in 1977, owing 330 yuan. He then borrowed 160 yuan for his wedding and increased his indebtedness to public funds to 620 yuan. Another assistant secretary embezzled and overdrew over 1,120 yuan from public funds. His son, a teacher in the people's school, had an income of over 300 yuan per annum, yet he would not pay the production team for his grain rations. Last year the state allocated him 26 yuan for buying grain for the busy farming season, but he bought a radio for his son. The women's association chairman of the brigade borrowed 160 yuan from the brigade credit station and processing plant in 1976 and 1977 and then borrowed 50 yuan to buy a wristwatch for her son. One member of the party branch owed over 800 yuan of public funds which he did not repay, while buying a sewing machine for his son to earn cash. The commune members declared indignantly: "Public funds are like the private property of the cadres. It is easier for them to get public money than for us to withdraw from our savings deposits."

With the party branch members taking the lead, some party members and cadres followed suit. The brigade cadres knew that certain things were not right, but due to their own "weak spots" they did not dare say anything. In 1977 the leader of the 3d Team wanted to borrow 70 yuan from the public funds to buy a wristwatch, but the assistant secretary of the brigade refused to approve it. The team leader reminded him of what he had done before: "You could buy a radio for your son, yet you refuse to let me buy a wristwatch!" The assistant secretary had to give his approval of the loan. According to statistics, 9 out of 13 party members of the brigade embezzled and overdrew from public funds, totaling 3,803 yuan which was unpaid; 6 out of the 15 production team cadres embezzled public funds, totaling 942 yuan. Less than a year after his appointment, the accountant of the 1st Production Team embezzled and overdrew over 460 yuan from public funds.

The cadres indulged in extravagant eating and drinking, embezzled public funds, discarded principles, fostered the undesirable capitalist trend, and undermined the collective economy. They favored relatives and friends, formed the trend of extravagant eating and drinking, chopped down trees without discrimination, and borrowed and embezzled money. In the past 3 years, out of a total of only 129 households in the

brigade, 12 new debtor households were added, involving over 1,900 yuan. The original 40 debtor households added over 2,000 yuan to their indebtedness. Because of overdrawing, borrowing, credit buying, and advancing, 34 out of 44 households of the 1st Production Team were in debt, totaling over 5,000 yuan. The collective forest also encountered destruction. In the past 2 years, 38 households in the brigade chopped down 278 pine trees belonging to the collective.

The cadres' habit of indulging in food and drink and embezzling public funds affected the implementation of the party's policies, damaged the socialist positivity of the commune membership and caused serious losses to agricultural production. In the 3 years between 1975 and 1977 the grain output of the brigade dropped three times, showing a total reduction of 741,400 catties; the cotton output also dropped three times in 3 years, and the total output decreased from 9,334 catties to 2,889. Last year, when Hsiaonanho reservoir turned on water for Teng-chung Brigade, those in charge of water paid no attention to it, and the water flowed into the river. As a result, over 100 mou of the rice crop was destroyed by drought, and the output was reduced by more than 50,000 catties. Of the four production teams of the brigade, except for Nung-k'o Team, three issued blank slips to the members at year-end distribution.

In regard to such bourgeois ideological style of the cadres and the harmful results, the commune members are extremely dissatisfied, indignant, distressed, and worried, and they urgently hope that the leaders of all levels will pay serious attention to the problem, adopt effective measures, and conscientiously solve it. They said: "We do our best to work, and the cadres do their best to take. Money is put into the wallets of the cadres, and the commune members are issued blank slips at time of distribution. If this problem is not solved, who can go all-out to work, and how can agriculture advance at a high speed?"

[Signed] Information Section of Li-tang Commune, 4 June 1978

Letter from Li-tang Commune CCP Committee

RED FLAG Editorial Department:

In the process of widely propagandizing the implementation of the spirit of the 11th CCP Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress, our commune party committee investigated and discovered that the leading cadres of Teng-chung Brigade formed a trend of extravagant eating and drinking and embezzlement, causing serious damage in politics and production. It reflected the corrosion of our cadre ranks by the bourgeois ideological style and a sharp and violent class struggle in the ideological realm. If this evil trend was not checked, it would ruin the party's superior tradition, damage the socialist positivity of the masses, undermine the collective economy, and seriously affect the high-speed

development of agriculture. For this reason, our commune party committee decided to consider it a major undertaking to combat that trend.

(1) Intensive investigation. To acquire a clear picture of the matter, the commune party committee sent an investigation team into the masses and found out how the two assistant secretaries and two members of the Teng-chung Brigade party branch indulged in extravagant eating and drinking and embezzlement. The commune party committee listened to the investigation report, launched special discussions, and unified thinking, and everyone felt that the matter must be grasped.

(2) Organizing study. The commune party committee promptly sent a work team to Teng-chung Brigade, and the party members and cadres were organized to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings, Chairman Hua's relevant directives, and the documents of the 11th CCP Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress, studying and discussing simultaneously. The work team also held heart-to-heart talks with the members of the party branch, sincerely helped them recognize the dangers of the undesirable trend, and enabled them to realize that, if the trend was permitted to spread and develop, they would slide further and further along the "lazy, greedy, embezzlement, corruption, and degeneration" path.

(3) Conscientious rectification. On the foundation of raising the ideological understanding of the leading cadres of Teng-chung Brigade, the commune party committee held a communewide party members study class and asked the participants to launch self-analysis and self-education. At the communewide party members' mass meeting, Liu Li-ching [0491 4539 3237], assistant secretary of the party branch, recalled his life of misery in the old society, begging for food and working as a cowherd, and thought of his errors in utilizing his position to indulge in extravagance and embezzlement. Sobbing bitterly, he said: "If I still do not rectify my mistakes, I shall not be able to face Chairman Mao, and I shall not be able to face Chairman Hua!" The party members attending the meeting, as well as the members of the party branch themselves, learned a lesson. After the meeting, they all corrected their mistakes by practical actions. First, they no longer went to the commune members' homes to eat and drink. Second, they actively repaid their debts. The four individuals have already repaid over 700 yuan. Third, they actively participated in collective productive labor. In the months of May and June the four members of the party branch performed a total of 211 days of labor, which was 92 days more than during the same period in 1977. Fourth, they performed their work concretely. They formulated a "three-point agreement": 1) They must not accept meals from the commune members when handling problems. 2) When the cadres of the brigade and teams encountered difficulties, they must be solved by collective study of the party branch, and no one was permitted to issue orders without authorization. 3) They must not put on any special entertainment for guests; unauthorized expenses would not be approved. The brigade also formulated

a unified concrete system and distributed it to all the work teams, and the masses were asked to supervise its enforcement.

(4) Letting one unit guide the whole area. Upon conclusion of the study class, we printed the documented facts of extravagance and embezzlement of the Teng-chung Brigade cadres and distributed it to the various party branches for the purpose of analyzing the typical examples, evaluating and discussing, and educating all the party members and cadres. The various party branches each scheduled a period of time for rectification, examining themselves by comparing with Teng-chung, distinguishing the right and wrong, correcting the mistakes, and attaining the stage of simultaneous studying, clarifying and rectifying.

Though our commune party committee grasped the problem, as our understanding is not profound and our determination not great, the evil trend has not been thoroughly checked. We are determined to reinforce our study, summarize our experiences, begin by grasping the party committee itself, thoroughly rectify all types of incorrect trends, strengthen the building of the leadership teams, lead the masses to work vigorously and advance rapidly, hasten the pace of learning from Tachai in agriculture, and promote agricultural production as fast as possible.

[Signed] Li-tang Commune CCP Committee, 17 July 1978

Letter from I-cheng County CCP Committee

RED FLAG Editorial Department:

The Information Section of Li-tang Commune reported the problem of extravagance and embezzlement of the cadres of Teng-chung Brigade. After investigation, the situation was found to be true. The county committee has distributed to the entire county the report on the investigation of Teng-chung Brigade and the experience of Li-tang Commune in handling the problem. The problem of Teng-chung Brigade possesses a certain representative nature and exists, in different degrees, in a considerable number of units in our county. As shown by the facts, the bourgeois ideological style attacks us every minute and every hour, seriously endangers the party's cause, damages the party's superior tradition, and blocks the rapid advance of agricultural production. For this reason, we must, in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," successfully wage the class struggle in the ideological realm, firmly resist the corrosion and attack of the bourgeois ideological style, firmly check the evil trend of extravagance and embezzlement and recover and develop the party's superior tradition.

Our county committee has decided to organize the party members and cadres of the entire county to learn Chairman Mao's teachings on staying alert against the sugarcoated cannonball of the bourgeoisie and

maintaining the style of arduous struggle, study the "Report on Conscientiously Implementing the Party's Policies and Vigorously Reducing the Irrational Burdens on the Peasants" forwarded to the Hsiang-hsiang County committee, Hunan, and the "Investigation Report on a Minority of Cadres of Hsun-i County Practicing Coercion and Violating Law and Discipline" forwarded to the Shensi provincial committee by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, intensively expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" for damaging the party's superior tradition and style, compare and examine ourselves in connection with reality, and thoroughly purge their remnant poison in ideology. Meanwhile, we will establish a group of advanced models who are incorruptible, honest, and devoted to socialism, reeducate the broad party members and cadres on arduous struggle, honesty in serving the public, and serving the people heart and soul, continuously raise their awareness of the continuous revolution, and make contributions to the general task of the new era.

[Signed] I-cheng County CCP Committee, 12 August 1978

Comment by Yang Kai-pao, Li-tang Commune, I-cheng County

The report on Teng-chung Brigade indicates that, among the cadre ranks in some areas, a relatively serious trend of extravagance and embezzlement exists. Instead of arduous struggle, serving the public with honesty, and serving the people diligently and sincerely, those following this trend seek private gain by means of their positions, eat at the expense of the masses, take from the collective, and widely indulge in evil ways. Such an evil trend has aroused the anger and resistance of the masses, and many leading organs are in the process of solving it. Nevertheless, some leading cadres pay no attention to the matter. At times they may criticize, but the criticisms are not thorough. Some of those guilty of extravagance and embezzlement defend themselves by saying: "It is only a trivial matter, having nothing to do with principles or lines. Why make a big deal out of a trivial matter?"

Is the trend of extravagance and embezzlement "a trivial matter"? No!

The situation of Teng-chung Brigade has its representative nature. Some cadres indulged in heavy eating and drinking and seriously damaged the interests of the masses and the socialist collective economy; others, making no distinction between the poor and lower-middle peasants on the one hand and the landlords and rich peasants on the other, lost their class stand; still others privately bargained away the revolutionary principles and the people's interests. This trend seriously interferes with the implementation of policies, damages the positivity of the masses, undermines the collective economy, and encourages capitalism. It has irrefutably proved a Marxist principle: The workstyle is closely linked with the direction and the line. Chairman Mao once pointed out profoundly: "A firm and correct political direction is inseparable from the workstyle of arduous struggle. Without a firm and correct political

direction, it will be impossible to stimulate the workstyle of arduous struggle. Without the workstyle of arduous struggle, it will not be possible to follow a firm and correct political direction." It is necessary that our party members and cadres study again and understand profoundly Chairman Mao's teaching. Chairman Mao also described how the Liberation Army soldiers would not eat apples belonging to the people, but lived on rice with salt water and pickles, pointing out that it was noble to refrain from eating apples belonging to the people, but contemptible to eat them. He also said: "Politics, and model politics, came out of the pickles." If the pickles produced proletarian politics, then, will not extravagance and embezzlement produce bourgeois politics?

Chairman Mao said: "We must advocate arduous struggle; arduous struggle is our political essence." Extravagance and embezzlement is an evil trend and a manifestation of the class struggle in the ideological realm between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as demonstrated in the living style. Many ruthless facts tell us that the bourgeoisie will always want to corrupt and to hit with sugarcoated cannonballs. This is an inevitable pattern of the class struggle in a socialist society. As indicated in the large numbers of facts revealed in the "one-criticize, two-hit" campaign, the spiritual and material sugarcoated cannonballs of the bourgeoisie have hit those among our cadre ranks whose determination is weak, and such cadres are sliding downhill along the wrong path of laziness, greed, embezzlement, corruption and degeneration. An evil element in Hsin-tang Brigade of our commune resorted to the means of "exaggerating with sweet words, courting relatives, attacking with money and women, and hitting with sugarcoated cannonballs," and dragged down some of the production team cadres. The former accountant of the 5th Team, Hsin-tang Brigade, started with preferring ease to work, subsequently embezzled over 6,000 yuan of public money, and finally followed the road of crime. What an alarming class struggle! Is it conceivable that we not grasp it vigorously? Is it conceivable that we watch them drop out of the ranks, sliding ever further, and not do anything?

Why is it that in recent years the extravagance and embezzlement trend has been so prominent in our cadre ranks? Mainly it was because Lin Piao and the "gang of four," over a long period of time, vigorously blew the evil bourgeois wind of seeking profit and power, widely advocated bourgeois egoism, recklessly incited anarchism, and seriously corrupted the cadre ranks. Some cadres fostered the bad habit of fearing hardship, pursuing pleasure, and seeking special privileges, and discarded the principle of serving the people heart and soul provided by Chairman Mao for our party and our army. They turned the trust of the party and the people into a means for private gain and special privileges. We must tightly grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," launch a reeducation of the broad cadres in the party's superior tradition, win the battle against revisionism and the bourgeoisie in the ideological realm, repel the evil trend, and bring out the party

workstyle of arduous struggle, serving the public with integrity, seeking the truth through the facts, and the mass line.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao always gave serious attention to the struggle against the bourgeois ideological style and personally initiated and led many rectification movements. Recently, the armywide political work conference stressed the issue of eliminating the bourgeois and promoting the proletarian and successfully tackling the class struggle in the ideological realm. Our wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out in his speech: "Overcoming the bourgeois and all exploiting class ideologies with the proletarian ideology, channeling the petty bourgeois ideology to the proletarian tracks, and rectifying the incorrect ideological and work methods also constitute an important task of the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." The party committees of all levels must reinforce leadership, and the cadres of all levels must serve as examples, in order to recover and develop the party's superior tradition, forever preserve our political essence of arduous struggle, firmly repel the bourgeois attack on the proletariat in the ideological realm, and lead the broad masses more successfully to new victories.

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